

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE of The New York Times

JANUARY
1917

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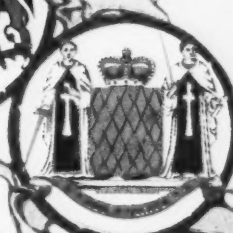


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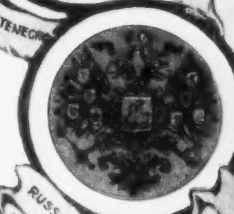
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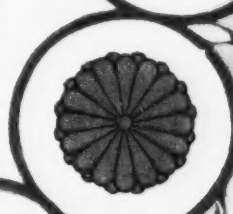
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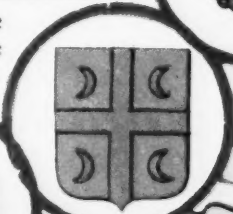


BELGIUM



JAPAN

SERBIA



ITALY



GERMAN
EMPIRE



FRANCE

TURKEY



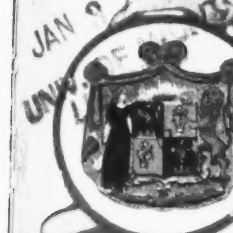
BULGARIA



GREECE



RUMANIA



UNITED STATES

PEACE PROPOSALS

Full Official Record

Navies in the War

European Finances

Civil Conscription

Russia's Upheaval

Belgium's Agony

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VOL. V

No. 4

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Hero of the Jutland Battle, Now Commander in Chief of All the
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(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

DIRECTING ARTILLERY FIRE FROM AN UNDERGROUND ROOM



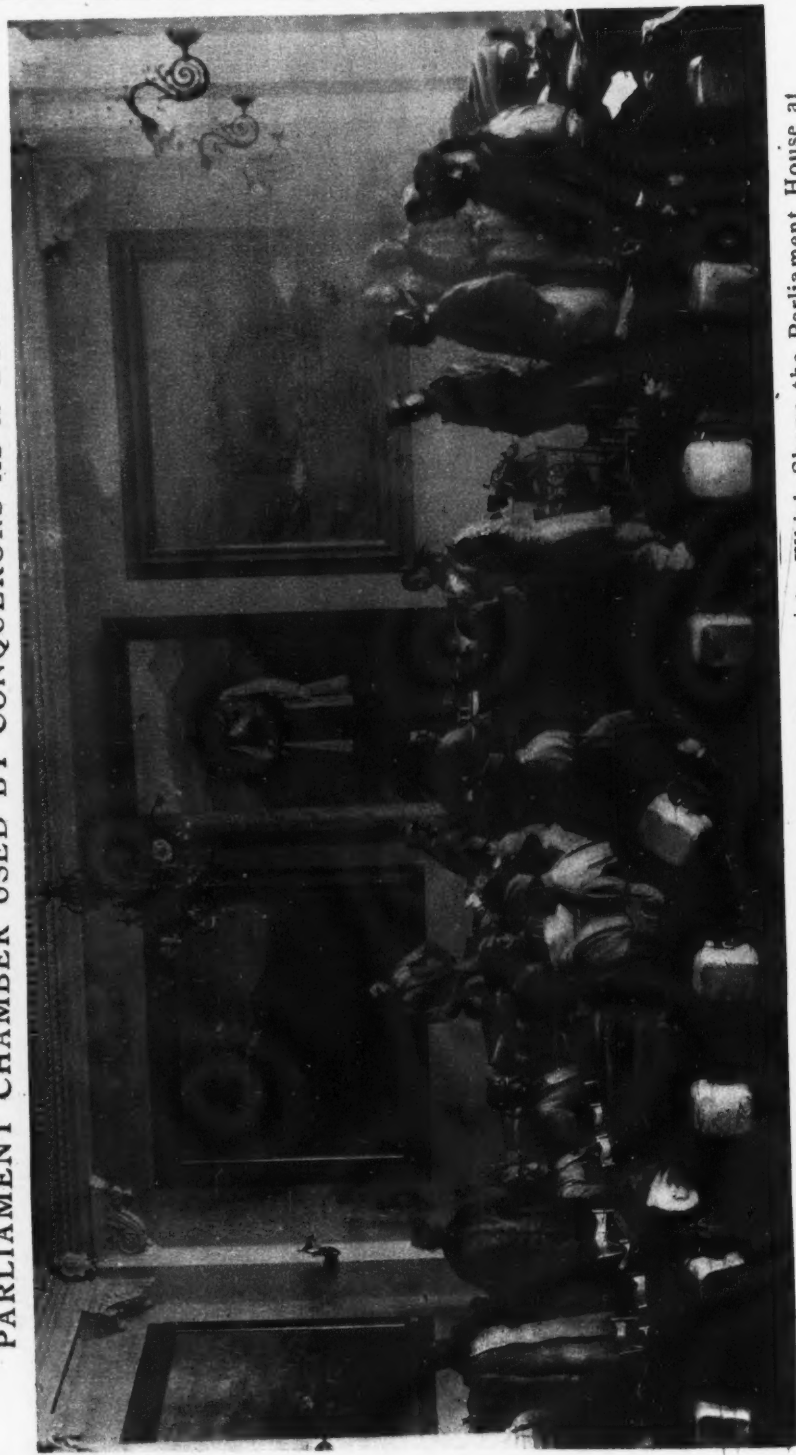
A French Military Telephone Exchange, Deep Underground, Where the Messages From Observation Posts Are Relayed to Artillery Batteries.
(Pach Photo News, Inc.)

SENTINELS OF THE SKY, GUARDING PARIS IN WAR TIME



This Beautiful Glimpse of Paris at Sunset, With the City Outlined Beneath, Shows Two War Balloons Watching Amid the Clouds for Hostile German Aircraft.
(Root Newspaper Association.)

PARLIAMENT CHAMBER USED BY CONQUERORS AS A DINING ROOM



Montenegro's Fate Is Strikingly Illustrated by This Photograph, Which Shows the Parliament House at Cetinje in Use by Hungarian Soldiers As Barracks.
(Universal Press Syndicate.)

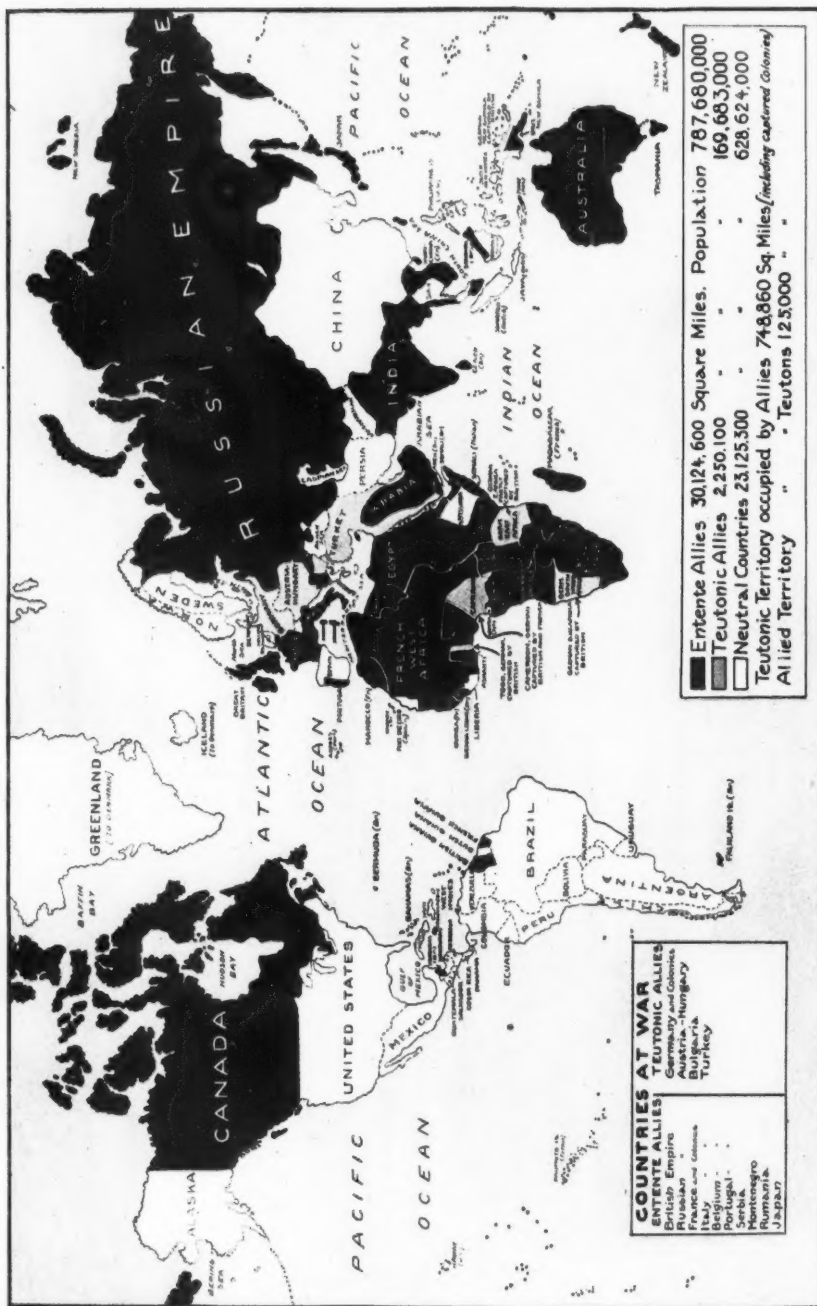
FIGHTING IN THE RUINS OF A VILLAGE CHURCH IN PICARDY



French Soldiers Bringing a Machine Gun to Bear on the Enemy's Trenches, From Which a Counterattack Is Expected.

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood.)

WORLD WAR MAP SHOWING AT A GLANCE THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED



The Neutral Territory—in White—Is Vastly Overshadowed by the Portions of the Earth Engaged in the Great Conflict.
 (Drawn for The New York Times Mid-Week Pictorial, © 1916.)

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

JANUARY, 1917

WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH

GERMANY'S MOVE FOR PEACE

DECEMBER witnessed events fraught with momentous consequences affecting the war. Superseding all others in pregnant possibilities was the initiative taken by the Central Powers proposing peace. The details are given elsewhere. The proposal was made in circumstances to give full dramatic effect to the importance of the proposition and in arrogant terms such as a conqueror employs toward the vanquished. The news came with startling effect upon the entire world and made a deeper impression among all the nations than any event since the declarations of war in the historic days of midsummer, 1914.

The proposal was received with mingled feelings, varying from contemptuous disdain of what was regarded as insulting by the Hotspurs among the allied statesmen, press, and people, to a tolerant acceptance of the suggestion as meriting serious consideration by the pacifists. The dominant opinion in the most influential circles of England, France, and America construed the action as intended chiefly for influence in Germany and Austria rather than with any expectation that it might result in definite peace pourparlers. It was felt in the highest circles among the Allies that it was a shrewd diplomatic move to hearten the people of Germany and Austria with the conviction that if the war continues it is because the Allies refuse to entertain proposals of peace, hence the Central Powers are compelled to fight to save their Fatherland. The sincerity of the proposal is questioned because of its

vagueness, there being no indication of what terms would be proposed.

All the Entente Allies indorse the declaration of Premier Lloyd George that they will demand an explicit statement of terms and a guarantee of good faith. In formulating their answer to the Central Powers the English Premier declared that their terms will require full restitution, full reparation, and effectual guarantees against repetition."

In forwarding Germany's notes to the Allied Powers the United States, the Vatican, and the other neutrals agreed that the situation did not require any comment on the part of neutral powers, and this course was pursued by all. There were some intimations that Germany hoped the neutrals might seize the occasion to urge intervention or mediation.

German opinion following the Premier's speech indicated optimism—a feeling that the door had not been flung shut in the face of the Central Powers, and that a way might yet be found for another exchange of notes. Opinion in the United States and among the chief neutrals tended to the view that Germany would not at this juncture meet the requirements of the Allies and that peace would be postponed until some more decisive result had been attained in the field. Pro-ally opinion asserts that Germany staged her proposals at the moment when it was at the full crest of victory in Rumania and in possession of a maximum area of hostile territory; but that she was keenly feeling the economic pressure and the weakening of her man power, realizing that victory was now or

never. The pro-Germans declare that she is sincere; that she is tired of slaughter and bloodshed; that she has convinced her enemies that she cannot be crushed, and in the hour of her victory really can afford to be magnanimous, but that, if her tender is refused, she is prepared to fight on more vigorously and will bring the Allies to their knees.

* * *

OUTSTANDING MILITARY EVENTS

THE most important military event of the month was the triumphant march of the German legions under Mackensen and Falkenhayn through Rumania. The resistance of the Rumanians swiftly crumbled before the German guns. Bucharest fell, and the Germans were in possession of fully one-half the entire country on Dec. 20; they were continuing to advance and were daily making new captures. It is reported that the total number of prisoners taken exceeds 120,000, but the Rumanians assert that their army is still intact. The capital has been removed to Jassy, near the Russian border.

The only other important military event in December—at least up to this writing, Dec. 20—was the further advance of the French at Verdun. On Dec. 15 they delivered a heavy stroke, advancing two miles along six and a half miles of front, and taking more than 11,300 prisoners, 280 being officers, besides a considerable amount of military booty. This was the last blow struck by General Nivelle before taking over his new duties as Commander in Chief in place of General Joffre. The French now occupy at Verdun practically the same positions as before the German offensive last February.

There was no important engagement on the British, Italian, or Russian front. The army sent out from Saloniki by the Allies captured the strategic City of Monastir, but has made no important advance since.

* * *

DEATH OF FRANCIS JOSEPH

THE death of the aged Austrian Emperor late in November and the accession of his grandnephew to the throne caused no change in the situa-

tion, though it is understood that the new Emperor is not disposed to accept German hegemony as complacently as did his granduncle. There is political unrest in Austria; the Cabinet formed under Dr. von Koerber a few weeks ago resigned in December, but no facts are known as to the causes. It is generally believed that the economic and financial situation in Austria-Hungary is growing desperate. The fact that Austria insisted on a separate peace address to the neutrals is believed to indicate that the new Emperor is not so completely yoked to Germany as was Francis Joseph.

* * *

IMPORTANT CABINET CHANGES

DECEMBER will stand out in the war's annals as having brought complete changes of Government in France, Great Britain, Russia, and Austria, with important alterations in Germany. The meaning of these changes is treated elsewhere in this magazine. The new Cabinets foreshadow a firmer and more vigorous war policy in the three chief allied countries, and in themselves prove a singularly quick reply to the German peace movement, though the two things doubtless were determined upon independent of each other. In some quarters, however, the impression prevails that the strengthening of the allied Cabinets signifies a joint resolution to strike their heaviest blow in the Spring, and that it was the fear of this gigantic effort which moved the Central Powers to propose peace.

* * *

THE CRISIS IN GREECE

EARLY in December it seemed as though war between Greece and the Allies were inevitable, and the dethronement of Constantine seemed a certainty. Definite proof was discovered to show that Germany and the Greek royalists were in active communication. The Allies in self-protection delivered an ultimatum to Greece calling for the delivery of its arms and the cessation of movements of troops; a blockade of Athens was also declared. King Constantine was at first inclined to defy the Entente, but thought better of it and agreed to demobilize or intern his army and to re-

store the postal and telegraph lines to the Allies. If the King keeps his promises General Sarraill and the allied army at Saloniki may proceed to prosecute their Balkan plans without fear of a rear attack.

* * *

GERMANY'S STAGGERING TAXES

IF the war ends by April, 1917, Germany, at the present rate of expenditure, will require an annual revenue of \$3,250,000,000. The total taxable income of Germany is estimated at \$9,750,000,000, distributed as follows:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Incomes up to \$750..... | \$6,500,000,000 |
| Incomes of \$750 to \$2,500..... | 1,425,000,000 |
| Incomes of \$2,500 to \$7,500..... | 750,000,000 |
| Incomes of \$7,500 to \$25,000..... | 550,000,000 |
| Incomes above \$25,000..... | 575,000,000 |

If the whole revenue were raised by direct taxation this would equal one-third of the total national income, so that a family earning \$750 a year (\$15 a week) would have to reserve \$260 of it for taxation; this would be impossible. Even with a tax graduated according to the amount of the income, the drain would be too heavy to be borne. The only recourse would be indirect taxation of extraordinary proportions, especially on all luxuries, and monumental taxes on imports other than articles of popular consumption, such as food, tobacco, and clothing.

* * *

BRITISH AND GERMAN LOSSES

DURING November Great Britain lost in killed or died of wounds, missing and missing believed killed, 834 officers, 21,100 men; wounded, 1,473 officers, 50,343 men; prisoners, 6 officers, 212 men; total casualties, 2,312 officers, 72,479 men.

The figures for July, August, September, and October, respectively, were:

| | | | |
|---------------|-------|----------|---------|
| Officers..... | 7,071 | Men..... | 52,001 |
| Officers..... | 4,693 | Men..... | 123,097 |
| Officers..... | 5,408 | Men..... | 113,780 |
| Officers..... | 4,366 | Men..... | 102,340 |

The British total for five months of the Somme offensive and on all other fronts was 23,850 officers, 463,697 men.

The German official lists for November, issued Dec. 12, show total German casualties for the month (excluding naval and Colonial services) to have

been 166,176 officers and men, making the total German losses in killed, wounded and missing since August, 1914, 3,921,689.

* * *

FRANCE'S WAR MINISTERS

SINCE August, 1914, when the German Army crossed the frontier of Belgium, France has had five War Ministers—two civilians and three soldiers. When the war broke out, M. Messimy was in office, a politician whose chief claim to fame is that he selected General Joffre to head the General Staff of France three years before the war, thus giving the victor of the Marne the opportunity to build up a strong defensive army for France. A few weeks later his place was taken by M. Alexandre Millerand, a much stronger man, who had worked with Joffre in strengthening and reorganizing the French Army. The late General Gallieni, organizer of Madagascar, who had displayed both genius and high valor in preparing the defense of Paris, succeeded Millerand, and a few days before his death was succeeded by General Roques, who now makes way for General Lyautey. These three soldiers all had their training in France's colonial empire; Gallieni and Roques in Tonkin as well as Africa, while General Lyautey proudly boasts that he is "one of Gallieni's pupils." Their colonial training made these men strong administrators as well as skillful soldiers.

* * *

RUSSIA AT CONSTANTINOPLE

THE new Russian Premier, M. Trepoff, has announced to the Duma that the Entente Powers, when fully victorious, will hand Constantinople over to Russia. Russia wants Constantinople for two reasons, one religious and the other economic and political. From Constantinople the Eastern Orthodox faith came to Russia, and the Church of St. Sophia (now a mosque) is the most venerated building in the history of the Orthodox Church, since it was built by Justinian in the sixth century. Therefore Russia wishes St. Sophia to become once more the first church of the Eastern rite, and seeks possession of Constantinople in

order to realize that wish. But Russia wants an open door for the vast wheat fields of her southern provinces, one of the granaries of the world; a door, also, by which she can import merchandise throughout the Winter, when the Baltic ports are obstructed and the White Sea ports are frozen. England has, for more than a century, steadily opposed Russia's wish, through fears concerning Egypt and India. England, as Russia's ally, has now cordially assented to Russia's wish.

* * *

THE TAURUS TUNNEL ON THE BAGDAD RAILROAD

FROM Amsterdam comes the report that the great tunnel piercing the Taurus Mountains on the Constantinople-Bagdad railroad has been completed; but, as the Taurus section requires several tunnels, eleven miles in all, it is not certain whether the report refers to one or all of them; probably the former. The tunnel is close to the Cilician Gates, a pass through the Taurus, famous since the campaign of Alexander the Great, who, like Julius Caesar, spent some time at Taurus, the capital of Cilicia. The new tunnels, if all are completed, make it possible to go by train from Tarsus to Haidar Pasha, and thence by ferry to Constantinople, a distance of about 650 miles; from Tarsus the railroad goes southeast to Aleppo, thence eastward to Nisibin, close to the Tigris; there is a further section down the Tigris Valley, immediately north of Bagdad. From Aleppo the Turkish Hejaz railroad runs down, somewhat eastward of the River Jordan, to Arabia and the recently revolted holy cities of Islam. It would be possible, therefore, if the report from Amsterdam refers to the whole system of tunnels under the Taurus, for the Sultan of Turkey to make the pilgrimage to Medina from Constantinople by train.

* * *

THE MOTTO OF THE HAPSBURGS

THE accession of the Emperor Charles I, by evoking historical notices of the House of Hapsburg, has brought to light a curious device invented by the Emperor Friedrich III. in the fourteenth century. This device consisted of the five vowels, A, E, I, O, U, which were,

by his command, engraved on all the royal plate and carved on every article of palace furniture. The sovereign never explained their significance, which was an unsolved riddle until after his death, when the key was found on one of the leaves of his diary. It was an anagram, having essentially the same meaning in both Latin and German. The Latin version read: *Austria Est Imperare Orbi Universo*; the German: *Alles Erdreich ist Oesterreich Unterthan*. The literal translation of the Latin is: "To Austria it is given to rule the universe"; of the German: "Everything in the world is subject to Austria." The family name is abbreviated from *Habichts-burg*, "Hawk's fortress," in Switzerland, from which the early robber barons of the family used to swoop down upon the surrounding country.

* * *

NERVE-DESTROYING AEROPLANES

WE are accustomed to think, with entire justice, of the superb moral poise and iron nerve of the airmen of the war. Nevertheless, they are subject to nervous breakdown and sudden collapse. Even while outwardly in full physical vigor, they are piling up an accumulation of physical and moral shocks. The variations of arterial pressure and heart palpitations finish by undermining the strongest. An airman full of fire, who has given numberless proofs of daring, begins to deteriorate. He ought to rest, but, through amour propre, he insists on flying. Then comes the day when his nerves go; he misses his balance, upsets, falls. There is the constant moral anxiety; the danger of falling within the enemy's lines; the seemingly infinite distance of the home trenches. The man's mind begins to row, to row like a galley slave, endlessly, with a kind of interior despair. He thinks he is not gaining ground. He struggles against the air, against his fear, against the invisible resistance to his wings. No one has yet adequately written of the airman's psychology. Gabriele d'Annunzio could, perhaps, undertake the task successfully, since he has experienced both the triumph and the sufferings of the airman.

TANK HUNTING AND TANK SICKNESS

HERE is an entry from the diary of a young Australian who was wounded while serving with one of the new "tanks," as the English landships on the Somme front are called: "Strange sensation. Worse than being in a submarine. At first unable to see anything, but imagined a lot. Bullets began to rain like hailstones on a galvanized roof at first, then like a series of hammer blows. Suddenly we gave a terrible lurch. I thought we were booked through. Lookout said we were astride an enemy trench. 'Give them hell!' was the order. We gave them it. Our guns raked and swept trenches right and left. Got a peep at frightened Huns. It was grimly humorous. They tried to bolt like scared rabbits, but were shot down in bunches before getting to their burrows. Machine guns brought forward. Started vicious rattle on our 'hide.' Not the least impression was made. Shells began to burst. We moved on and overtook some more frightened Huns. Cut their ranks to ribbons with our fire. They ran like men possessed. Officer tried to rally them. They awaited our coming for a while. As soon as our guns began to spit at them they were off once more. Experience was not altogether pleasant at first. Tank sickness is as bad as seasickness until you get used to them."

* * *

"NARPPOO" AND "BLIGHTY"

THERE have quite recently been entertaining comments on the new "French slang" which is being adopted by the British Army in France; and two words thus commented on are "narpoo" and "Blighty," the latter an oddly unattractive name for England. Now, while "narpoo" has some claim to a French origin, (as has, by the way, the better half of the English tongue,) being a corruption of the French phrase "Il n'y a plus," "there is no more of it," the second word is no more French than it is Choctaw. It is, indeed, a fairly good phonetic rendering of a Persian word, well known to all Anglo-Indians, and due, not to the presence of British armies in France, but to their presence in India, which is largely tinged with Persian speech, the word Hindu, for example, be-

ing Persian. "Belait" is Persian for "a foreign land," and is used by Anglo-Indians for the distant land which they call home. It has a genitive or adjective form, "Belaiti," "of the foreign land," used in "Belaiti-pani," which means "soda water." Tommy Atkins, very incurious of Persian orthography, has turned Belaiti into Blighty, but it still means the land which he calls home.

* * *

WONDERFUL TREATMENT FOR WOUNDS

THE new treatment of sterilizing wounds as carried out in France by Dr. Carrel of the Rockefeller Institute is producing remarkable success. Dr. O'Neill Sherman reported to the Royal Society of Medicine at London that by this treatment the soldiers' stay in the hospitals was very appreciably shortened, many leaving in four or six weeks who would have required three to six months under former treatment; he stated that they were now doing one amputation where formerly twenty were necessary, and where there had been ten deaths there was now but one. The chief aim of the treatment was to prevent infection, as 75 per cent. of deaths after the first twenty-four hours were due to infection, and 80 per cent. of amputations were due to the same cause. The treatment consists in keeping the wound thoroughly filled, rather than irrigated, with a cleansing solution introduced every two hours, consisting of 0.45 to 0.50 per cent. hypochlorite and no boric acid, the former solution generally applied containing 0.5 to 0.6 per cent. sodium hypochlorite with boric acid. About 99 per cent. of wounds which had been sterilized by Dr. Carrel healed at once after being stitched.

* * *

NO PEACE TALK IN WALES

THE profound determination of the masses of the United Kingdom to continue the war is revealed by the significant episode which recently occurred at Cardiff, the metropolis of Wales. A body called the National Council for Civil Liberties arranged to hold a conference for South Wales, under the Chairmanship of the President of the South Wales Miners' Association. The

delegates were appointed by trade unions in South Wales, principally the miners and railway workers.

Prior to the assembling of the conference a procession was formed on the outskirts of the town by the citizens at large, sailors, miners, laborers, clerks, small shopkeepers, &c., which soon assumed enormous proportions. There were violent scenes when the crowd collided with the conference, and the peace speakers were rushed out of the building, hooted out of the city, and pelted with mud by the crowd, being saved from bodily harm only by the interference of the police. The meeting hall was taken in charge by the crowd amid tumultuous cheering and shouts of "No Peace!" and "Down with the Traitors!" Belgian and British flags were waved, speeches were made, and resolutions of protest were telegraphed to the Home Secretary, the Prime Minister, and the Secretary of State for War, stating that, as "they did not see fit to prohibit the pacifist meeting, the people have taken the matter in their own hands and refuse to allow it to be held."

This incident provoked a sharp debate in Parliament, several members contending strongly that the authorities should have forbidden the meeting, others that the failure to protect the assemblage was a vital blow at liberty of speech. The Government explained that it took no steps so that there could be no just charge that it had connived at abridgment of personal rights.

* * *

IN the October CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, in referring to the prize money awarded the British crews for the sinking of the German warships in the engagement off Falkland Islands, for which £5 was given for 2,432 enemy sailors, the impression left in the headline that the prize money was awarded for "each enemy sailor drowned" was misleading. Under the Naval Prize act of 1864 of Great

Britain, Section V., Paragraph 42, it is provided in Prize Bounty Grants that "such of the officers and crew of any of her Majesty's ships of war as are actually present at the taking or destroying of any armed ship of any of her Majesty's enemies shall be entitled to have distributed among them as prize bounty a sum calculated at the rate of £5 for each person on board the enemy's ship at the beginning of the engagement."

* * *

THE birth rate in England and Wales showed a slight rise in the three months ended Sept. 30, 1916, being 21.7 per 1,000 of the population, as compared with 19.5 a year previous; of 198,293 births recorded in the three months, 9,675 were illegitimate. The number of births in the last half of 1915 at Berlin were 25.1 per cent. less than in the same period of 1914; 30 per cent. less in Dresden; 34 per cent. in Hamburg; 44 per cent. decrease in Prague, and a decrease of over 50 per cent. at Vienna.

* * *

THE total number of men of military age at present in Ireland is 514,606, of whom 245,875 are considered indispensable, 107,492 physically unfit, leaving 161,239 yet available for service. The Irish enlistments since the outbreak of the war total 130,241, of whom only 33,221 have enlisted since August, 1915; of the total, 66,674 enlisted from Ulster, 21,412 from the Dublin area, 21,079 from Munster, 15,636 from Leinster, 5,440 from Connaught; since August, 1915, 14,922 have enlisted from Ulster and 18,299 from all the rest of Ireland, including Dublin.

* * *

AN interesting statement was made by Mr. Montague, Minister of Munitions of Great Britain, to the effect that the present actual expenditure for munitions is greater than the total annual expenditure for all purposes by the United Kingdom before the war.

GERMANY'S PEACE PROPOSAL

A Historic Address by the Chancellor, With Text of Notes Transmitted Through Neutral Powers

CHANCELLOR VON BETHMANN HOLLWEG convened the German Reichstag in special session Tuesday, Dec. 12, to announce that Germany and her allies had that day made a formal proposal to enter into peace negotiations with the enemy. The Chancellor earlier in the day received one after another the representatives of the United States, Spain, and Switzerland, the States protecting German interests in hostile foreign countries, and to each transmitted a note which he asked them to bring to the knowledge of the Governments at war with Germany, the contents of which were divulged soon afterward in his address to the Reichstag. The Government of Austria at the same time transmitted a note of similar import to the same representatives, and identical notes were transmitted by Turkey and Bulgaria. Notes of like nature were also communicated to the Vatican.

The momentous occasion was made the more dramatic by the manner in which the session was assembled. All the members of the Reichstag, even those in the fighting line, were summoned to Berlin by telegraph, and it was given out that the meeting would be "the most remarkable since the outbreak of the war, and of worldwide historical importance." The Imperial Chancellor the day before received the Ministers of all the Federated States and communicated to them the announcement that would be made. It is understood that Parliamentary sittings were held simultaneously at Vienna, Sofia, and Constantinople. A few days earlier a conference had taken place, at which were present the Kaiser, the Imperial Chancellor, King Ludwig of Bavaria, and General Hindenburg. At that time the Grand Cross of the Iron Cross was conferred on the Field Marshal and a personal letter handed him by the Kaiser, thanking him with unusual

fervor for the successful campaign in Rumania.

The meeting of the Reichstag was arranged to give fullest dramatic effect to the momentous occasion. All the foreign Ambassadors and Ministers were in the diplomatic boxes. The building was surrounded by a great crowd, and the adjoining streets were thronged.

The Chancellor on rising was warmly greeted, and delivered his address in a clear, loud, ringing voice. His utterances were interrupted by continuous applause, and at frequent intervals there was prolonged demonstration. At the conclusion there was enthusiastic cheering, and the Reichstag immediately adjourned subject to call.

The Chancellor's Address

The Chancellor spoke as follows:

"The Reichstag had been adjourned for a long period, but fortunately it was left to the discretion of the President as to the day of the next meeting. This discretion was caused by the hope that soon happy events in the field would be recorded, a hope fulfilled quicker, almost, than expected. I shall be brief, for actions speak for themselves."

The Chancellor said Rumania had entered the war in order to roll up the German positions in the east and those of Germany's allies. At the same time the grand offensive on the Somme had as its object to pierce the German western front, and the renewed Italian attacks were intended to paralyze Austria-Hungary.

"The situation was serious," said the Chancellor. "But with God's help our troops shaped conditions so as to give us security which not only is complete but still more so than ever before. The western front stands. Not only does it stand, but in spite of the Rumanian campaign it is fitted out with larger reserves of men and material than it had been

formerly. The most effective precautions have been taken against all Italian diversions. And while on the Somme and on the Carso the drumfire resounded, while the Russians launched troops against the eastern frontier of Transylvania, Field Marshal von Hindenburg captured the whole of Western Wallachia and the hostile capital of Bucharest, leading with unparalleled genius the troops that in competition with all the allies made possible what hitherto was considered impossible.

"And Hindenburg does not rest. Military operations progress. By strokes of the sword at the same time firm foundations for our economic needs have been laid. Great stocks of grain, victuals, oil, and other goods fell into our hands in Rumania. Their transport has begun. In spite of scarcity, we could have lived on our own supplies, but now our safety is beyond question.

"To these great events on land, heroic deeds of equal importance are added by our submarines. The spectre of famine, which our enemies intended to appear before us, now pursues them without mercy. When, after the termination of the first year of the war, the Emperor addressed the nation in a public appeal, he said: 'Having witnessed such great events, my heart was filled with awe and determination.' Neither our Emperor nor our nation ever changed their minds in this respect. Neither have they now. The genius and heroic acts of our leaders have fashioned these facts as firm as iron. If the enemy counted upon the weariness of his enemy, then he was deceived.

"The Reichstag, by means of the national auxiliary war service law, helped to build a new offensive and defensive bulwark in the midst of the great struggle. Behind the fighting army stands the nation at work—the gigantic force of the nation, working for the common aim.

"The empire is not a besieged fortress, as our adversaries imagined, but one gigantic and firmly disciplined camp with inexhaustible resources. That is the German Empire, which is firmly and faithfully united with its brothers in arms, who have been tested in battle

under the Austro-Hungarian, Turkish, and Bulgarian flags.

"Our enemies now ascribed to us a plan to conquer the whole world, and then desperate cries of anguish for peace. But not confused by these asseverations, we progressed with firm decision, and we thus continue our progress, always ready to defend ourselves and fight for our nation's existence, for its free future, and always ready for this price to stretch out our hand for peace.

Moment Ripe for Peace

"Our strength has not made our ears deaf to our responsibility before God, before our own nation, and before humanity. The declarations formerly made by us concerning our readiness for peace were evaded by our adversaries. Now we have advanced one step further in this direction. On Aug. 1, 1914, the Emperor had personally to take the gravest decision which ever fell to the lot of a German—the order for mobilization—which he was compelled to give as a result of the Russian mobilization. During these long and earnest years of the war the Emperor has been moved by a single thought—how peace could be restored to safeguard Germany after the struggle in which she has fought victoriously.

"Nobody can testify better to this than I who bear the responsibility for all actions of the Government. In a deep moral and religious sense of duty toward his nation and, beyond it, toward humanity, the Emperor now considers that the moment has come for official action toward peace. His Majesty, therefore, in complete harmony and in common with our allies, decided to propose to the hostile powers to enter peace negotiations. This morning I transmitted a note to this effect to all the hostile powers through the representatives of those powers which are watching over our interests and rights in the hostile States. I asked the representatives of Spain, the United States, and Switzerland to forward that note.

"The same procedure has been adopted today in Vienna, Constantinople, and Sofia. Other neutral States and his Holiness the Pope have been similarly informed."

The Chancellor then read the note, and, continuing, said:

"Gentlemen, in August, 1914, our enemies challenged the superiority of power in the world war. Today we raise the question of peace, which is a question of humanity. We await the answer of our enemies with that serenity of mind which is guaranteed to us by our exterior and interior strength, and by our clear conscience. If our enemies decline to end the war, if they wish to take upon themselves the world's heavy burden of all these terrors which hereafter will follow, then even in the least and smallest homes every German heart will burn in sacred wrath against our enemies, who are unwilling to stop human slaughter in order that their plans of conquest and annihilation may continue.

"In the fateful hour we took a fateful decision. It has been saturated with the blood of hundreds of thousands of our sons and brothers who gave their lives for the safety of their home. Human wits and human understanding are unable to reach to the extreme and last questions in this struggle of nations, which has unveiled all the terrors of earthly life, but also the grandeur of human courage and human will in ways never seen before. God will be the judge. We can proceed upon our way."

Kaiser Notifies the Army

While the announcements were being made in the Reichstag the Kaiser sent the following message to all the Commanding Generals:

Soldiers: In agreement with the sovereigns of my allies, and with the consciousness of victory, I have made an offer of peace to the enemy. Whether it will be accepted is still uncertain. Until that moment arrives you will fight on.

Emperor William's order was addressed also to "my navy, which in the common fight has loyally and effectively staked all its strength."

Presentation of the Notes

The official copies of the notes were received by cable at Washington on Dec. 14 and 15. [Full text of notes appears on following page.] Meanwhile the German Ambassador, Count von Bern-

storff, had an interview with Secretary of State Lansing to confirm officially the receipt of the messages. There was much speculation for three or four days as to what course our Government would pursue in transmitting the notes. There was considerable discussion as to whether this move should not be made the occasion for a strong representation by the United States to the Entente, in which we should recommend favorable action upon Germany's proposal, with an urgent request that a conference be held. The Cabinet held a prolonged session, and after a day's delay it was decided that this Government would transmit the notes without any comment. Similar action was decided on by the Vatican, Switzerland, and Spain.

The presentation of the notes was accomplished at London and Paris on Monday, Dec. 18, by the American Ambassadors without formality. Ambassador Page went in an automobile from the Embassy, and was received in the Foreign Secretary's room by Lord Robert Cecil, who was acting for the Foreign Minister, Mr. Balfour having just started on a vacation. The note was inclosed in a large, white envelope; it was handed to Lord Robert without comment, and the recipient made no reference to peace, simply thanking Mr. Page for the transmission of the message from the Central Powers.

The proceedings at Paris were equally informal. The Swiss Minister at Rome presented the note to Italy, and through the same channel it was presented to Belgium and Portugal without comment. The Netherlands Minister presented the note to Serbia in behalf of Bulgaria.

Reception of the News

The news was received throughout the world with profound interest. Everywhere in the Central Empires, it was reported by the news dispatches, there was rejoicing and enthusiasm. The leading newspapers warmly supported the action and indorsed the utterances of the Chancellor. Among the Entente Allies the first effect seemed to be distinctly unfavorable, and such news as was permitted to pass uncensored indicated an al-

most universal attitude of distrust and derision.

In America the effects of Germany's proffer of peace were scarcely less marked than in the belligerent nations. One result was an immediate and violent decline on the Stock Exchanges. For two days a semi-panic ensued in the stock and commodity markets; wheat declined over 20 points, and stocks fell from 3 to 6 points the first day; there was a slight recovery on the 13th, but on the 14th and 15th there were over 2,000,000 shares sold on the New York Stock Exchange,

registering declines from 4 to 8 points. The commodity markets also showed a heavy decrease in values. There was some recovery on the 16th, due to the repudiation of the move by the Russian Duma, but stocks were irregular on the 18th in expectant nervousness over the official British reply which was to be made on the 19th by Premier David Lloyd George.

The official text of the various notes which conveyed the peace proposal as transmitted through the neutrals and the Vatican follows:

Text of Peace Notes of the Central Powers

[Dispatched on Dec. 12, 1916]

To the Neutral Powers

Following is the text of the note addressed by Germany and her allies to the neutral powers for transmission to the Entente Allies:

THE most terrific war experienced in history has been raging for the last two years and a half over a large part of the world—a catastrophe which thousands of years of common civilization was unable to prevent and which injures the most precious achievements of humanity.

Our aims are not to shatter nor annihilate our adversaries. In spite of our consciousness of our military and economic strength and our readiness to continue the war (which has been forced upon us) to the bitter end, if necessary; at the same time, prompted by the desire to avoid further bloodshed and make an end to the atrocities of war, the four allied powers propose to enter forthwith into peace negotiations.

The propositions which they bring forward for such negotiations, and which have for their object a guarantee of the existence, of the honor and liberty of evolution for their nations, are, according to their firm belief, an appropriate basis for the establishment of a lasting peace.

The four allied powers have been obliged to take up arms to defend justice and the liberty of national evolution. The glorious deeds of our armies have in no way altered their purpose. We always maintained the firm belief that our own rights and justified claims in no way control the rights of these nations.

The spiritual and material progress which were the pride of Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century are threatened with ruin. Germany and her allies, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, gave proof of their unconquerable strength in this struggle.

They gained gigantic advantages over adversaries superior in number and war material. Our lines stand unshaken against ever-repeated attempts made by armies.

The last attack in the Balkans has been rapidly and victoriously overcome. The most recent events have demonstrated that further continuance of the war will not result in breaking the resistance of our forces, and the whole situation with regard to our troops justifies our expectation of further successes.

If, in spite of this offer of peace and reconciliation, the struggle should go on, the four allied powers are resolved to continue to a victorious end, but they disclaim responsibility for this before humanity and history. The Imperial Government, through the good offices of your Excellency, asks the Government of [here is inserted the name of the neutral power addressed in each instance] to bring this communication to the knowledge of the Government of [here are inserted the names of the belligerents.]

To the Vatican

The note of the German Government, as presented by Dr. von Muhlberg, German Minister to the Vatican, to Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State, reads as follows:

According to instructions received, I have the honor to send to your Eminence a copy of the declaration of the Imperial Government today, which, by the good offices of the powers intrusted with the protection of German interests in the countries with which the German Empire is in a state of war, transmits to these States, and in which the Imperial Government declares itself ready to enter into peace negotiations. The Austro-Hungarian, Turkish, and Bulgarian Governments also have sent similar notes.

The reasons which prompted Germany and her allies to take this step are manifest. For two years and a half a terrible war has been

devastating the European Continent. Unlimited treasures of civilization have been destroyed. Extensive areas have been soaked with blood. Millions of brave soldiers have fallen in battle and millions have returned home as invalids. Grief and sorrow fill almost every house.

Not only upon the belligerent nations, but also upon neutrals, the destructive consequences of the gigantic struggle weigh heavily. Trade and commerce, carefully built up in years of peace, have been depressed. The best forces of the nation have been withdrawn from the production of useful objects. Europe, which formerly was devoted to the propagation of religion and civilization, which was trying to find solutions for social problems, and was the home of science and art and all peaceful labor, now resembles an immense war camp, in which the achievements and works of many decades are doomed to annihilation.

Germany is carrying on a war of defense against her enemies, which aim at her destruction. She fights to assure the integrity of her frontiers and the liberty of the German Nation, for the right which she claims to develop freely her intellectual and economic energies in peaceful competition and on an equal footing with other nations. All the efforts of their enemies are unable to shatter the heroic armies of the (Teutonic) allies, which protect the frontiers of their countries, strengthened by the certainty that the enemy shall never pierce the iron wall.

Those fighting on the front know that they are supported by the whole nation, which is inspired by love for its country and is ready for the greatest sacrifices and determined to defend to the last extremity the inherited treasure of intellectual and economic work and the social organization and sacred soil of the country.

Certain of our own strength, but realizing Europe's sad future if the war continues; seized with pity in the face of the unspeakable misery of humanity, the German Empire, in accord with her allies, solemnly repeats what the Chancellor already has declared, a year ago, that Germany is ready to give peace to the world by setting before the whole world the question whether or not it is possible to find a basis for an understanding.

Since the first day of the Pontifical reign his Holiness the Pope has unswervingly demonstrated, in the most generous fashion, his solicitude for the innumerable victims of this war. He has alleviated the sufferings and ameliorated the fate of thousands of men injured by this catastrophe. Inspired by the exalted ideas of his ministry, his Holiness has seized every opportunity in the interests of humanity to end so sanguinary a war.

The Imperial Government is firmly confident that the initiative of the four powers will find friendly welcome on the part of his Holiness, and that the work of peace can

count upon the precious support of the Holy See.

Austria's Separate Statement

An official Austrian statement, referring to the peace offer, says:

When in the Summer of 1914 the patience of Austria-Hungary was exhausted by a series of systematically continued and ever-increasing provocations and menaces, and the monarchy, after almost fifty years of unbroken peace, found itself compelled to draw the sword, this weighty decision was animated neither by aggressive purposes nor by designs of conquest, but solely by the bitter necessity of self-defense, to defend its existence and safeguard itself for the future against similar treacherous plots of hostile neighbors.

That was the task and aim of the monarchy in the present war. In combination with its allies, well tried in loyal comradeship in arms, the Austro-Hungarian Army and Fleet, fighting, bleeding, but also assailing and conquering, gained such successes that they frustrated the intentions of the enemy. The Quadruple Alliance not only has won an immense series of victories, but also holds in its power extensive hostile territories. Unbroken is its strength, as our latest treacherous enemy has just experienced.

Can our enemies hope to conquer or shatter this alliance of powers? They will never succeed in breaking it by blockade and starvation measures. Their war aims, to the attainment of which they have come no nearer in the third year of the war, will in the future be proved to have been completely unattainable. Useless and unavailing, therefore, is the prosecution of the fighting on the part of the enemy.

The powers of the Quadruple Alliance, on the other hand, have effectively pursued their aims, namely, defense against attacks on their existence and integrity, which were planned in concert long since, and the achievement of real guarantees, and they will never allow themselves to be deprived of the basis of their existence, which they have secured by advantages won.

The continuation of the murderous war, in which the enemy can destroy much, but cannot—as the Quadruple Alliance is firmly confident—alter fate, is ever more seen to be an aimless destruction of human lives and property, an act of inhumanity justified by no necessity and a crime against civilization.

This conviction, and the hope that similar views may also be begun to be entertained in the enemy camp, has caused the idea to ripen in the Vienna Cabinet—in full agreement with the Governments of the allied [Teutonic] powers—of making a candid and loyal endeavor to come to a discussion with their enemies for the purpose of paving a way for peace.

The Governments of Austria-Hungary, Germany, Turkey, and Bulgaria have addressed

today identical notes to the diplomatic representatives in the capitals concerned who are intrusted with the promotion of enemy nationals, expressing an inclination to enter into peace negotiations and requesting them to transmit this overture to enemy States. This step was simultaneously brought to the knowledge of the representatives of the Holy See in a special note, and the active interest of the Pope for this offer of peace was solicited. Likewise the accredited representatives of the remaining neutral States in the

four capitals were acquainted with this proceeding for the purpose of informing their Governments.

Austria and her allies by this step have given new and decisive proof of their love of peace. It is now for their enemies to make known their views before the world.

Whatever the result of its proposal may be, no responsibility can fall on the Quadruple Alliance, even before the judgment seat of its own peoples, if it is eventually obliged to continue the war.

Official Comments of France, Russia, and Italy on Germany's Proposal

THE first official declaration on the subject by the Entente was made by Premier Briand at a session of the Chamber of Deputies on the 12th. He warned France to beware of her enemies, though intimating that France would not do less in the premises than the other members of the allied conference. Amid applause he said:

I have the duty to place my country on guard against possible poisoning. When a country arms itself to the teeth, when it seizes men everywhere in violation of the laws of nations and enforces labor upon them, I should be guilty if I did not cry out to my country, "Look out! Take care!"

I have the right, in the first place, to say to our enemies for the hundredth time, "The blood is on your hands, not upon ours." Not that I doubt the clear-sightedness of my country, but, in the face of these attempts to spread dissension among the Allies, I exclaim, "The French Republic will not do less than the convention."

Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer and member of the new War Council of Great Britain, in asking the House of Commons for an additional war credit of \$2,000,000,000, which was granted, made the following reference to the peace proposal on Dec. 13. He was speaking for the Prime Minister, who was absent on account of illness:

Something has happened of which I think it necessary that I should say a word—the peace proposals from Berlin. These proposals have not reached his Majesty's Government. It is obvious that under these circumstances no member of the Government can make any statement on the subject, and in my view it would be better that very little should be said in the House of Commons.

There is one thing which even at this

stage I think it necessary to say. In moving the last vote of credit the late Premier in a peroration which moved the House and the nation used these words: "They [the Allies] require that there should be adequate reparation for the past and adequate security for the future." That is still the policy, still the determination of his Majesty's Government.

Russia First to Act.

Russia was first of the Entente Allies to act officially on the proposals. The Russian Duma passed the following resolutions, unanimously rejecting the offer:

The Duma, having heard the statement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, unanimously favors a categorical refusal by the allied Governments to enter, under present conditions, into any peace negotiations whatever.

It considers that the German proposals are nothing more than fresh proof of the weakness of the enemy and a hypocritical act from which the enemy expects no real success, but by which it seeks to throw upon others the responsibility for the war and for what happened during it, and to exculpate itself before public opinion in Germany.

The Duma considers that a premature peace would not only be a brief period of calm, but would also involve the danger of another bloody war and a renewal of the deplorable sacrifices by the people. It considers that a lasting peace will be possible only after a decisive victory over the military power of the enemy and after definite renunciation by Germany of the aspirations which render her responsible for the world war and for the horrors by which it has been accompanied.

The passage of these resolutions was preceded by an address from the Foreign Minister Pokrovsky, who announced that he spoke with full authority of the Czar. Referring to the proposals of peace he said:

Words of peace, coming from the side which bears the whole burden of responsibility for

the world conflagration, which it started, and which is unparalleled in the annals of history, however far back one goes, were no surprise to the Allies.

In the course of the two and a half years of war Germany has more than once mentioned peace. She spoke of it to her armies and her people each time she entered upon a military operation which was to be decisive. After each military success she put out feelers for a separate peace on one side and another, and conducted a propaganda in the neutral press. All these efforts have met with calm and determined resistance by the allied Powers.

Seeing now that she is powerless to make a breach in our unshakable alliance, Germany makes an official proposal to open peace negotiations. In substance, the German proposal contains no tangible indications regarding the nature of the peace which is desired by the enemy armies which devastated and occupied Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro, and part of France, Russia, and Rumania.

The Austro-Germans have just proclaimed an illusory independence for part of Poland, and by this are trying to lay hands on the entire Polish Nation. The motives of the German step will be shown more clearly if one takes into consideration the domestic conditions of our enemies.

Without speaking of the unlawful attempts to force the population of Russian Poland to take arms against its own country, it will suffice to mention the introduction of general forced labor into Germany to understand how hard is the situation of our enemies.

To attempt at the last moment to profit by their fleeting territorial conquest before their domestic weakness was revealed—that was the real meaning of the German proposal. In the event of failure, they will exploit at home the refusal of the Allies to accept peace in order to rehabilitate the tottering morale of their populations.

But there is another senseless motive in that they fail to understand the true spirit which animates Russia. Our enemies deceive themselves with the vain hope that they will find among us men cowardly enough to allow themselves to be deceived, if only for a moment, by the lying proposals.

That will not be. No Russian heart will yield; all Russia will rally more closely around its august sovereign, who declared at the very beginning of the war that he would not make peace until the last enemy soldiers had left our country, and for the general collaboration which constitutes the only sure means of arriving at the end we all have at heart, namely, the crushing of the enemy.

The Russian Government repudiates with indignation the mere idea of suspending the struggle, thereby permitting Germany to take advantage of the last chance she will have of subjecting Europe to her hegemony. The innumerable sacrifices already made would be in vain if premature peace were concluded with an enemy whose forces have been shak-

en but not broken, and an enemy who is seeking a breathing space by making deceitful offers of a permanent peace.

In this inflexible decision Russia is in complete agreement with all her valiant allies. We are all equally convinced of the vital necessity of carrying on the war to a victorious end and no subterfuge by our enemies will prevent us from following this path to the end.

The impression became general throughout the United States that it was by agreement of the Entente that Russia took the first official action, in order to put an effectual quietus to the rumor that she was disposed to desert her allies and make a separate peace. The extraordinarily successful drive of the French troops at Verdun, where on the 14th they practically recovered all the ground lost since February, four divisions of French defeating five divisions of Germans, capturing over 11,000 prisoners, of whom 283 were officers, was regarded as France's answer to the claim of the Chancellor that the line in the west was "unbreakable."

Italy's Answer

Italy answered officially on Dec. 19. Several resolutions had previously been introduced in the Chamber of Deputies in regard to the proposals. At the sitting on the 19th Baron Sonnino, the Foreign Minister, addressed the Chamber on the subject, stating that there was no "sign of conditions or bases of negotiations in the enemy's note." He continued as follows:

I possess no information in regard to eventual conditions of peace beyond the note from the enemy which I read in the Chamber.

Should propositions be made subsequently we should consider what to do, but it would be neither practical nor proper to discuss that question today. Moreover, it should be understood clearly that no one of the Entente Allies could take into consideration any condition whatever which by hypothesis might be eventually offered to him under separate form. In the public interest and out of respect to the allied Governments, I cannot communicate to you anything whatever as to the substance of the answer we shall give to the note of the four enemy powers. The answer will be published as soon as it is drawn up.

We all wish peace, and lasting peace. But we consider a lasting peace to be a careful settlement whose duration depends not on the solidarity of the fetters with which one people is held subject to another, but on an exact

balance among the States, based on respect for the principal nationalities, rules laid down in the laws of nations, and reasons of humanity and civilization.

If we were in the presence of genuine proposals, with bases of a nature to satisfy the general postulates of civilization and justice, which I have just mentioned, none would reject them abruptly. But there is nothing to show even faintly that this is the case, and there are many reasons for believing the contrary.

I do not desire to use exaggerated language, but the accent of boastfulness and the lack of sincerity which characterize the preamble to the enemy's note certainly inspire no belief that these mysterious peace conditions which the Central Empires announce they have the intention of exposing later on, with the object of guaranteeing the existence, honor, and free development of their peoples, do constitute an answer to the postulates we have laid down.

Baron Sonnino appealed to the Deputies of all parties, in the words of Premier Briand of France, not to permit the move of the Central Powers to "poison the mind of the people," and urged them to refrain from "playing the enemy's game" by giving way to rash or untimely manifestations which might implant the germs of division and discouragement. He asked them not to vote any order of the day which might let it be supposed that the attitude of Italy differed from that of her allies.

Amid an outburst of cheering for Baron Sonnino, the Chamber voted the order of the day pure and simple, implying confidence in the Government, and further ordered that the Foreign Minister's speech be placarded throughout Italy. The vote on the order of the day was 276 to 40.

British Premier's Answer

It was tacitly understood that the full exposition of the views of the

Allies respecting Germany's peace proposals would be left to David Lloyd George, England's new Prime Minister. He had fallen ill the day he had assumed office, and his first appearance in Parliament in his new rôle was postponed on that account to the 19th. This session of the House of Commons was regarded as one of the most important in its history. Not only would the new Premier, in accordance with usage, on his final appearance outline the general policy of the Government, but his utterance would be the decisive word in behalf of all the Allies regarding the peace proposal.

The Parliament house was thronged with England's greatest. The galleries were full of peers, publicists, soldiers, and sailors. All the leading Ministers of the late Administration, with one exception, were on the front bench of the Opposition. Mr. Asquith, the retired Premier, was greeted with a demonstration that moved him deeply.

Hall Caine, the novelist, in describing the scene in the House of Commons, wrote: "A great and memorable scene! Even if the heavy duty and solemn responsibility, before God and humanity, of replying to the blasphemous braggadocio of Germany's so-called offer of peace had not fallen on the new Prime Minister as the first official act of his Premiership, today's sitting of Parliament would have been almost without parallel in Parliamentary annals. I doubt if any of us yet know how far it will go. It may be the signal for the beginning of a new order which will completely alter the character of Parliament."

The Premier began his speech at 4:10 P. M., Dec. 19, and had the floor for nearly two hours. The full text of his address is given below.

Lloyd George's Historic Speech Regarding Peace

I SHALL have to claim the indulgence of the House in making the few observations that I have to make in moving the second reading of the bill.

I appear before the House of Commons today with the most terrible responsibility that can fall upon the shoulders of any living man. As the Chief Minister of the Crown, and in the midst of the most stupendous war in

which this country ever has been engaged, a war upon which its destinies depend, the responsibilities which rest upon the Government have been accentuated by the declaration of the German Chancellor, and I propose to deal with that at once.

The statement made by him in the German Reichstag has been followed by a note presented to us by the United States Minister,

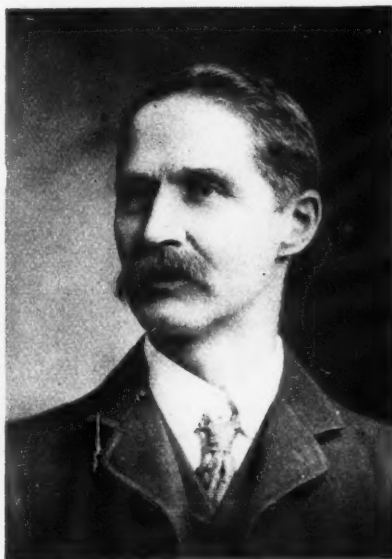
MEMBERS OF NEW BRITISH CABINET



David Lloyd George
Prime Minister

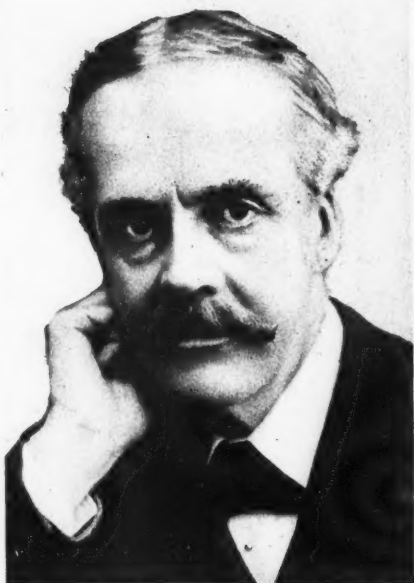


Earl Curzon of Kedleston
Lord President of War Council



Andrew Bonar Law
Chancellor of the Exchequer

MEMBERS OF NEW BRITISH CABINET



Arthur J. Balfour
Secretary of State for Foreign
Affairs



The Earl of Derby
Secretary of State for War



Lord Milner
Without Portfolio



Arthur Henderson
Without Portfolio

without any note or comment. The answer, which is given by the Government, will be given in full accord with all our various allies. Already there has been an interchange of views, not upon the note itself, because it has only recently arrived, but upon the spirit which impelled the note. The note is only a paraphrase of the speech, so that the subject matter of the note itself has been discussed informally with the Allies, and I am glad to be able to say that we arrived separately at identical conclusions.

I am very glad that the first answer was given to the German Chancellor by France and by Russia. They have unquestionably the right to give the first answer. The enemy is still on their soil and their sacrifices have been greater. The answer they have given has already appeared in all the papers, and I stand here today on behalf of the Government to give a clear and definite support to the statement they have already made. And here let me say that any man or set of men who wantonly and without sufficient cause prolongs a terrible conflict like this has on his soul a crime that oceans could not cleanse; on the other hand, a man or set of men who from a sense of war weariness abandoned the struggle without achieving the high purpose for which we entered upon it would be guilty of the most ghastly poltroonery ever perpetrated by any statesman.

Quotes Lincoln's Words

I should like to quote the well-known words of Abraham Lincoln under similar conditions:

"We accepted the war for an object, a worthy object. The war will end when that object is attained. Under God I hope it will never end until that time."

Are we to achieve that object by accepting the invitations of the German Chancellor? That is the only question we have to put to ourselves.

There has been some talk about the proposals of peace. What are those proposals? There are none. To enter on the invitation of Germany, proclaiming herself victorious, without any knowledge of the proposals she intends to make, into a conference, is putting our heads into a noose with the rope end in the hands of the Germans.

This country is not altogether without experience in these matters. It is not the first time we have fought a great military despotism which was overshadowing Europe, and it will not be the first time we shall help to overthrow it. We have an uncomfortable historical memory of these things. We can recall how one of the greatest of these despots, having a purpose to serve in the organization of his nefarious scheme, invariably appeared in the garb of the angel of peace. He usually appeared under two conditions—when he wished for time to assimilate conquest and reorganize for fresh advances, or, secondly, when his subjects showed symptoms of fatigue and war weariness. The appeal was always made in the name of humanity. He

demanded an end of bloodshed, at which he professed himself to be horrified, but for which he himself was mainly responsible. Our ancestors were taken in once and bitterly did they and Europe rue it. The time was devoted to reorganizing his forces for a deadlier attack than ever upon the liberties of Europe.

Stands by Asquith's Terms

Examples of the kind cause us to regard this note with a considerable measure of reminiscent disquiet. We feel we ought to know before we give favorable consideration to such an invitation that Germany is prepared to accede to the only terms on which it is possible for peace to be obtained and maintained in Europe.

What are these terms? They have been repeatedly stated by all the leading statesmen of the Allies. All I can do is to quote what the leader of the House, Mr. Bonar Law, said last week when he made practically the same statement of terms as those put forward by Mr. Asquith—"restitution, reparation, guarantees against repetition."

So that there shall be no mistakes, (and it is important that there should be no mistake in a matter of the life and death of millions,) let me say complete restitution, full reparation, and effectual guarantees.

Did the German Chancellor use a single phrase that would indicate that he was prepared to accept such terms? Was there a hint of restitution? Was there any suggestion of reparation? Was there any indication of any security for the future, that this outrage on civilization would not again be perpetrated at the first profitable opportunity?

The very substance and style of the speech constituted a denial of peace on the only terms on which peace is possible. He is not even conscious now that Germany has committed an offense against the rights of free nations. Listen to this quotation: "Not for an instant had they (the Central Powers) swerved from the conviction that a respect for the rights of free nations is in any degree incompatible with their own rights and legitimate interests." When did they discover that? Where was the respect for the rights of other nations in Belgium?

That, it is said, was for self-defense. Menaced, I suppose, by the overwhelming army of Belgium, the Germans were intimidated into invading Belgium, burning Belgian cities and villages, massacring thousands of inhabitants, old and young, carrying survivors into bondage—yea, carrying them into slavery at the very moment when the note was being written about the "unswerving conviction of the respect for the rights of other nations."

What guarantee is there that these terrors will not be repeated in the future? That, if we enter into a treaty of peace, we shall put an end to Prussian militarism? If there is to be no reckoning for these atrocities by land and sea, are we to grasp the hand which per-

petrated them without any reparation being made?

We have to exact damages.

We have begun; already it has cost us much.

We must exact it now, so as not to leave such a grim inheritance for our children.

Criticises Speech and Note

Much as we all long for peace, deeply as we are horrified at the war, their note and speech give small encouragement to hope for an honorable and lasting peace. What hope is given in that speech? The whole root and cause of this bitterness, the arrogant spirit of the Prussian military caste—will it not be as dominant as ever if we patch up a peace now?

The very speech resounds with the boast of the Prussian military triumph; the very appeal for peace was delivered ostentatiously from the triumphal chariot of Prussian militarism.

We must keep a steadfast eye on the purpose for which we entered the war. Otherwise the great sacrifices we are making will be all in vain. The German note states that for the defense of their existence and for the freedom of national development the Central Powers were constrained to take up arms. Such phrases cannot but deceive those who listen to them. They are intended to deceive the German Nation into supporting the designs of the Prussian military caste.

Who ever wished to put an end to their national existence or to the freedom of their development so long as it was on behalf of peace. The greater their development in that direction, the greater would humanity be enriched by that development.

That was not our design and it is not our purpose now. The Allies entered into this war to defend Europe against the aggression of Prussian military domination, and they must insist that the end is a most complete and effective guarantee against the possibility of that caste ever again disturbing the peace of Europe.

Prussia, since she got into the hands of that caste, has been a bad neighbor—arrogant, threatening, bullying, shifting boundaries at her will, taking one fair field after another from weaker neighbors and adding them to her own dominions, ostentatiously piling up weapons of offense, ready on a moment's notice to be used.

No More Swashbuckling

She has always been an unpleasant, disturbing neighbor to us. She got thoroughly on the nerves of Europe, and there was no peace near where she dwelt.

It is difficult for those who were fortunate enough to live thousands of miles away to understand what it has meant to those who lived near. Even here, with the protection of the broad seas between us, we know what a disturbing factor the Prussians were with

their constant naval menace. But even we can hardly realize what it has meant to France and Russia. Several times there were threats. There were two of them within the lifetime of this generation which presented an alternative of war or humiliation.

There were many of us who had hoped that internal influences in Germany would have been strong enough to check and ultimately to eliminate this hectoring. All our hopes proved illusory, and now that this great war has been forced by the Prussian military leaders upon France, Russia, Italy, and ourselves, it would be a cruel folly not to see to it that this swashbuckling through the streets of Europe to the disturbance of all harmless and peaceful citizens shall be dealt with now as an offense against the law of nations.

The mere word that led Belgium to her own destruction will not satisfy Europe any more. We all believed it; we all trusted in it. It gave way at the first pressure of temptation, and Europe has been plunged into this vortex of blood. We will therefore wait until we hear what terms and guarantees the German Government offers other than those, better than those, surer than those, which she so lightly broke. Meanwhile we ought to put our trust in an unbroken army rather than in a broken faith.

For the moment I do not think that it would be advisable for me to add anything upon this particular invitation. A formal reply will be delivered by the Allies in the course of the next few days.

Paints Stern Picture of Situation

What is the urgent task in front of the Government? To complete and make even more effective the mobilization of all our national resources, a mobilization which has been going on since the commencement of the war, so as to enable the nation to bear the strain, however prolonged, and to march through to victory, however lengthy and however exhausting may be the task. It is a gigantic task, and let me give this word of warning—if there be any who have given their confidence to the new Administration in expectation of a speedy victory, they will be doomed to disappointment.

I am not going to paint a gloomy picture of the military situation, (if I did it would not be a true picture,) but I must paint a stern picture because that accurately represents the facts. I have always insisted on the nation being taught to realize the actual facts of this war. I have attached enormous importance to it at the risk of being characterized as a pessimist. I believe that a good many of our misunderstandings have arisen from exaggerated views which have been taken about successes and from a disposition to treat as trifling real setbacks.

To do so, to imagine that you can only get the support and the best help of a strong people by concealing difficulties is to show a fundamental misconception of our people. The British people are just as sweet-toothed

as anybody, and they like pleasant things being put on the table, but that is not the stuff they have been brought up on, and that is not what the British Empire has been nourished on.

Britain has never shown at its best except when it was confronted with a danger, real and understood.

Rumania and Greece

Let us look at the East for a moment. The Rumanian blunder was an unfortunate one, but at the worst it prolongs the war; it does not alter the fundamental facts of the war. I cannot help hoping that it may even have a salutary effect in calling the attention of the Allies to the obvious defects in their organization, not merely the organization of each, but the organization of the whole. If it does that and braces them to fresh efforts it may prove, bad as it is, a blessing. That is the worst. That has been a real setback. It is the darkest cloud, and it is a cloud that appeared on a clearing horizon.

We are doing our best to make it impossible that that disaster should lead to worse. That is why we have taken within the last few days very strong action in Greece. We mean to take no risks there. We decided to take definite and decisive action, and I think it has succeeded. We have decided also to recognize the agents of that great Greek statesman, M. Venizelos.

The Triumphs on the Somme

I should like to say one word about the lesson of the fighting on the western front—not about the military strategy, but about the significance of the whole of that great struggle—one of the greatest struggles in the history of the world. It is full of encouragement and of hope.

Just look at it—an absolutely new army! The old had done its duty and spent itself on the achievement of its great task. This is a new army. But a year ago it was ore in the earth of Britain, yea, and of Ireland. It became iron, it has passed through a fiery furnace and the enemy know that it is fine steel.

Yet this absolutely new army, new men, new officers, Generals new to this kind of work, have faced the greatest army the world has ever seen, the best equipped, the best trained, and they have beaten them, beaten them battle after battle, day after day, week after week, from the strongest intrenchments ever devised by human skill. They have driven them out by valor—by valor that is incredible.

When you read the story of it, there is something which is full of hope for the future, which fills you with pride in the nation to which they belong. It is a fact full of significance for us and for the foe. It is part of his reckoning. He sees that army grow under his very eyes. A great French General said to me: "Your army is a new army. It must learn—not merely its Gen-

erals, not merely its officers, but its men—what to do and how and when to do it."

Therefore, basing our confidence upon these facts, I am as convinced as I ever was of ultimate victory if the nation proves as steady, as valorous, as ready to sacrifice and ready to learn and to endure as that great army of our sons in France.

Government Organized for Action

I should like now to say a word or two about the Government itself. In doing so I am anxious to avoid all issues which excite irritation or controversy. There is no time for that. It must not be assumed, however, if I do so that I accept as complete the accounts which have been given of the way the Government was formed. My attitude toward the policy of the late Administration, of which I was a member and for all of whose deeds I am just as responsible as any one else, has been given in letters or memoranda, and my reasons for leaving it have also been given in a letter. If it were necessary I should on personal grounds welcome the publication of these, but I am convinced that controversies as to the past will not help us as to the future. Therefore, as far as I am concerned, I place them on one side and get on with what I regard as the business of the Government under these trying conditions.

I should like to say something first of all as to the unusual character and composition of the Government as an executive body. The House has realized that there has been a separation between the functions of the Prime Minister and the leader of the House. That was because we came to the conclusion that it was more than any one man, whatever his energy or physical strength, could do to undertake both functions in the middle of a great war.

The task of leader of the House is a very anxious and absorbing one. I have not been able to attend the House very much during the last two or three years, but I have been here often enough to realize that the task of leader of the House of Commons is no sinecure, even in a war.

There are three characteristics in the present Administration in which it may be said that it has departed, perhaps, from precedent. First of all these is the concentration of the executive authority in a very few hands. The second is the choosing of men of administrative and business capacity rather than men of parliamentary experience, where we were unable to obtain both for the headship of Government departments. The third is the franker and fuller recognition of the partnership of labor in the government of this country.

No Government has ever been formed which has had such a number of men who all their lives have been associated with labor and the labor organizations of this country. We realize that it is impossible

to conduct a war without getting the unqualified support of labor, and we are anxious to obtain their assistance and counsel for the conduct of the war.

A Structure for War

The fact that this is a different kind of organization from any that preceded it is not necessarily a criticism of its predecessors. They were peace structures; they were organized for a different purpose and for a different condition of things. The kind of craft which you have for river or canal traffic is not exactly the kind of vessel you would construct for the high seas. I have no doubt that the old Cabinets (I am not referring to the last Cabinet but to the old system of Cabinets where you had the heads of every department represented inside the Cabinet) were better adapted to navigate the parliamentary river with its shoals and shifting sands, and, perhaps, to cruise in home waters. A Cabinet of twenty-three, however, is rather topheavy for a gale.

I do not say that this particular craft is best adapted for parliamentary navigation, but I am convinced that it is the best for war. In war you want quick decisions about everything. Look at the last two and a half years. I am not referring to what has happened in this country. When I say these things, I would rather the House of Commons would look at the war as a whole. Take the concern of the Allies as a whole, (and here I am certain I will get the assent of my right honorable friend, Mr. Asquith;) the Allies have suffered disaster after disaster through tardiness in decision and action, very largely for reasons which I will give later on, and in which I know I am in complete agreement with my right honorable friend.

Value of the Small Cabinet

It is true that in a multitude of counselors there is wisdom, but that was written for Oriental countries in peace times. You cannot run a war with a Sanhedrin. That is the meaning of a Cabinet of five, with one of its members doing sentry duty outside, manning the walls and defending the council chamber against attack, while we are trying to do our work inside—and a very difficult task it is.

Some concern has been expressed as to the relations of the small executive with the other members. It has been suggested that there is danger of a lack of co-ordination and of common direction. It has been wondered how we could ever meet. One very respected newspaper suggested that there ought to be weekly dinners to discuss matters of common concern.

What is the difficulty? Whenever anything concerns a particular department, we follow the time-honored precedent, and the head of that department with his officers attend the executive period. They immediately get into contact with each other and discuss the problem which requires to be discussed.

There is another change—the amalgamation of the old War Committee and the Cabinet.

The old War Committee had what the Cabinet had not; it had a Secretary who kept a complete record of all decisions, which no Cabinet ever had. With the Cabinet it was always a question of memory. Not even my right honorable friend or any of his predecessors ever took a note of the decisions.

Mr. Asquith—It is very desirable that this should be known; it is the inflexible unwritten rule of the Cabinet that no member of the Cabinet shall take any note or record of its decisions except the Prime Minister, and he does so for the purpose of sending his letter to the King.

The Prime Minister—I am very much obliged to my right honorable friend for reminding me. That is so. That indicates what a real difference there is between the War Committee and the Cabinet. In the War Committee a full record is taken of every decision. The minutes are sent around to each member for correction. The matters dealt with there are just as confidential (I might say even more confidential) as the vast majority of questions decided in the Cabinet.

I come to one point, which has caused some dismay—the new Ministries. But each Minister answers for his department exactly in the same way as under the old system, each Minister is accountable for his department, and the Government as a whole is accountable to parliamentary control. The control of Parliament always has been and must be supreme because it represents the nation, and there is not the slightest attempt to derogate from the complete control of Parliament, which is responsible to the nation.

Need of the Labor Minister

My right honorable friend, the Home Secretary, in introducing the bill, and the leader of the House subsequently gave a very detailed account of the public work of the new Ministries. The Ministry of Labor has been urged for thirty years by organized labor unions, and my experience in the Ministry of Munitions has taught me that it is desirable that there should be a department, which is not altogether in the position of an employer whenever there is a dispute about labor or wages. I hope that this department will not confine itself simply to disputes, which is but a small part of the industrial problem with which it has to deal. I hope it will become in a real sense a Ministry of Labor.

At the Ministry of Munitions I had the duty to set up something, which is known as the welfare department, to make labor conditions better and to make labor less repellent and more attractive and healthful. A number of very able volunteers are organizing that department. I am glad to say that they belong to the Society of Friends, who, though they have a rooted objection to war, have never declared during this war that they could not take part in national work. They are working hard in this department, and I am hoping this department

is assisting the mobilization of labor for the purpose of war.

Nationalizing Shipping

My right honorable friend has already indicated to the House what we propose to do with regard to shipping. It was never so vital to the life of the nation as now during this war. It is the jugular vein which, if severed, would destroy the life of the nation. We are taking over all the ships of this country on the same conditions as we have taken over the railways, so that during the war shipping will be nationalized in the real sense of the term. The prodigious profits which were made out of freights have contributed in no small measure to the high price of commodities.

One of the greatest shippers in the United Kingdom has undertaken to conduct this great enterprise for the welfare of the country. He is now in conference with the Admiralty, and I hope soon to inform the House of the plans he recommends to be taken, not merely the taking of ships already in the country, but for speedy construction of more, so as to make up the wastage which, I think, is inevitable during a great war, especially when you are dealing with those piratical methods which characterize the maritime policy of the German Empire.

In this case the Government say, as the late Government said, they are dealing with a national commodity which is essential to the life of the nation, and I think they are right. The position is being carefully considered, and we shall be able to place our plans before you before we separate.

The Grave Food Problem

Now I must say something about food. The food problem is a grave problem, and would become graver unless not only the Government but the nation is prepared to grapple with it without loss of time.

The main facts are that the available harvests of the world have failed. In times of peace we could always make up the deficiency of one particular country by resorting to another. If America failed there was Russia or the Argentine, but the Argentine promises badly as well as Australia, and Russia is not available.

Under the circumstances it was decided by the late Government to appoint a Food Controller, and we actually appointed him—an able and experienced administrator, a man of great determination and force of character. And he is assisted by one of the greatest agricultural experts in this House. At the head of the Board of Agriculture we have a man singularly gifted, who has as thorough a knowledge of principles and practices of this question as any man in this or any other country.

I have felt it important that we should secure the best brains in the country to bear on this very difficult and dangerous problem. The problem is a double one. It is one of

distribution and of protection. In respect of both we must call on the people of this country to make real sacrifices, but it is essential if we do so that the sacrifice should be equal. Overconsumption by the fortunate must not be allowed to create a shortage for the less well to do.

I am sure that we can depend on the men and women of all conditions, to use the ordinary phrase, to play the game. Any sort of concealment hurts the nation when it is fighting for its life. Therefore, we must appeal to the nation as a whole (without the help of the nation we can accomplish nothing) to assist us in so distributing our resources that there shall be no man, woman, or child who suffers from hunger because some one has been getting too much.

When it comes to production, every available square yard of land must be made to produce food and the labor available for tillage should not be turned to mere ornamental purpose until the food necessities of the country have been adequately safeguarded. The best use must be made of the land and of all available labor to increase the food supplies of the country. All those who have the opportunity must feel that it is their duty to the State to assist in producing and contributing to the common stock from which every one draws. If we do this, we get rid of any privation, every one having plenty of the best and healthiest food.

Calls for National Sacrifice

By that means alone will the nation be able to carry on the war to the triumphant issue to which we are all looking forward. It means sacrifice, but what sacrifice! Talk to the man who has returned from the horrors of the Somme, or one who has been through the haunting wretchedness of a Winter campaign, and you will know something of what those gallant men are enduring for their country. They are enduring much; they are hazarding much, while we are living in comfort and security at home.

You cannot have absolute equality of sacrifice in war, it is impossible, but you can have equal readiness of sacrifice from all. There are hundreds of thousands who have given their lives; there are millions who have given up comfortable homes and exchanged them for daily communion with death. Multitudes have given up those they love best.

Let the nation as a whole place its comforts, indulgences, and elegances on a national altar, consecrated by such sacrifices as these men have made. Let us proclaim during the war a national Lent. The nation will be better for it—stronger mentally, morally, and physically. It would strengthen its fibre and would ennoble its spirit.

Without it we shall not get the full benefit of this struggle. Our armies might drive the enemy out of the battered villages of France, across the devastated plains of Belgium. They might hurl them across the

Rhine in utter disarray, but unless the nation as a whole shoulders part of the burdens of victory they will not profit by the triumph.

Further Curb on War Profits

It is not what a nation gains, but what a nation gives, that makes it great. While a nation is making such enormous sacrifices, as I have already pointed out, it is intolerable that any section should be permitted to make exceptional profits out of the sacrifices of others, and by that means actually increase the burdens borne by others.

A good deal has already been done by the late Administration to arrest unfair profit-taking out of the war, but the Government have come to the conclusion that they cannot ask the nation for more sacrifices without taking even more drastic steps than they have yet taken.

There are several ways of dealing with this problem. One is the annexation of war profits. The other is the cutting down of prices so as to make excessive profits impossible. The Munitions act adopted both of these expedients. Eighty per cent. of the excess profits in controlled firms were annexed, and in addition there has been more searching and minute revision of prices in controlled firms, and an enormous reduction already has been achieved in those firms.

The problem is now being carefully examined by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and others, and we hope to be able to make an announcement of the course the Government intend to adopt shortly. It is quite clear that if the nation is to be asked to make further sacrifices to win the war, the way should be cleared by action of this kind.

To Mobilize Labor Resources

I now come to a very difficult subject, and one which is equally vital to the success of this country in this great war. I have hitherto talked largely of the mobilization of the material resources of the nation. I now come to the mobilization of the labor resources of the country, which are even more vital to our success than the former. Let there be no mistake about it. Without this we shall not be able to pull through. The mere haphazard supply and demand will not accomplish what is necessary to save the nation within the time that it is essential it should be accomplished.

It is not a question of years, it is a question of months, perhaps of weeks, and unless not only more of the material resources of the country but the labor of the country is used to the best advantage, and every man is called upon to render such services to the State as he can best give, victory may be beyond our reach.

The problem with which we are confronted is a simple one. Nearly a year ago we decided that in order to maintain our armies in the field the nation must have complete control over all its military re-

sources in men. But it is impossible to take men into the army without taking them from civil employment, and it is our object to establish such a system of recruiting as will insure that no man is taken into the army who is capable of rendering more useful service in industry.

To complete our plans and to have the organization of our national resources perfect we ought to have power to see that every man who is not taken into the army, whatever his position or rank, is really employed on one of national importance.

For instance, I was constantly appealed to, when Secretary for War, to relieve men for agricultural work. We were quite prepared to do so, but there was absolutely no guarantee, if they were released, that they would be used for agricultural purposes. The moment they were released from the army they were free to go to the munition works or to any other work where they thought they could sell their labor to the best advantage. We could not be sure that these men would be used for agricultural purposes; we must have assurance.

There are a considerable number of people skilled in tillage, but, although they are not producing food, we cannot employ them. I believe there are scores, if not hundreds of thousands, of cases of the kind which, if you could utilize them to the best advantage, would produce great quantities of food in this country.

The difficulty in agriculture is skilled men. You may have two or three skilled men on a particular farm, but you may have other farms where there are no skilled men at all. Would it not be possible for the skilled men to look after not one but several farms, which could be worked with the aid of unskilled men and women or—

Mr. Lambert—Will the right honorable gentleman let us know what the Government is going to do about it?

Mr. Lloyd George—I thought I had made it perfectly clear. Of course, I could not give the whole of the details; but I assure the right honorable gentleman that schemes of very great magnitude have been promulgated and are being put into operation.

The matter was considered by the War Committee of the late Government, and it was unanimously decided by them that the time had come for the adoption of the principle of universal national service. It was one of the first matters taken up by the present Government.

The War Cabinet has adopted the conclusion come to by the War Council, and plans for carrying it into effect have already been prepared.

To Establish National Service

In order to do this we propose to appoint a directorate of national service to be in charge both of the military and civil side of the national service. The civil and military sides of the directorate will be entirely separate.

It is not proposed to make any change with regard to military service, but with regard to civil service it is proposed to set up a registration of munition volunteers with similar conditions as to rates of pay and separation allowances.

I have no doubt that we shall get an adequate supply of volunteers, but if it is found impossible to get the numbers we require, we shall not hesitate to come to Parliament and ask for powers to make our plan really effective. The nation is entitled to the best services of all its members.

We have been fortunate in inducing the Lord Mayor of Birmingham, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, to accept the position of Director General of National Service. It was with difficulty that he was induced to undertake this onerous duty. It is the recognition of its urgency that induced him to undertake the task. He would immediately proceed to organize a system of enrollment for industrial work in the hope that before long he would be able to report that he has secured a sufficiently large army of industrial workers mobilized for war purposes.

Hopes to End Irish Tangle

I wish it had been possible to say something about Ireland, but circumstances have made it impossible for me to devote my time to the problems which have arisen in that country. I have had one or two interviews with the Chief Secretary and others, but unfortunately I have had to leave the question in order to attend to so many other pressing matters.

All I have to say is this: I wish it were possible to remove the misunderstanding between Great Britain and Ireland which has for centuries been the cause of misery and embarrassment to one and weakness to the other. I should have considered it a war measure of the first importance, and I should have considered it a great victory for the allied cause.

I tried once to remove the misunderstanding between England and Ireland. I was drenched with suspicion of Irishmen by Englishmen and of Englishmen by Irishmen, and, worse and most fatal of all, suspicion by Irishmen of Irishmen. It was a quagmire of distrust which clogged my footsteps and made progress impossible. That is the real enemy of Ireland. If that could be slain I believe it would accomplish an act of reconciliation that would make Ireland greater and Britain greater and make the United Kingdom and the empire greater than they ever were before.

That is why I have always thought and said that the real solution of the Irish problem is largely one of better atmosphere, and in that I speak not merely for myself, but for my colleagues.

We shall strive by every means and at many hazards to produce the atmosphere, but we ask the men of all races, of all creeds, to help us, not to solve a political question but to help us to do something that

would be a real contribution to the winning of the war.

I must say one word about the Dominions—
An Honorable Member—What about the navy?

Mr. Lloyd George—The achievements of the navy speak for themselves. I don't know that anything I could say would be in the least adequate to recognize the enormous and the incalculable services that the great navy of Britain has rendered, not merely to the empire but to the whole of the Allies. Not merely would victory have been impossible, but the war could not have been kept going, even for two years and a half, had it not been for the services of the navy.

To Call Imperial Conference

Now, coming to the dominions—the Ministers have repeatedly acknowledged the splendid assistance which the dominions have given of their own free will to the old country in its championship of the cause of humanity. They have recognized throughout that our fight is not a selfish one, that it is not merely a European quarrel, and that there were great world issues which their children were as concerned in as ours.

The new Administration is just as full of gratitude as the old for the superb valor which our kinsmen have shown in so many striking fields, but I want to say that we feel that the time has come when the dominions ought to be more formally consulted as to the progress and course of the war, as to the steps that ought to be taken to secure victory, and as to the best methods of garnering its fruits.

We propose, therefore, at an early date to summon an imperial conference to place the whole position before the dominions, to take counsel with them as to what further action we can take together in order to achieve an early and complete triumph for the ideals which they share with us.

As to our relations with the Allies, I said earlier in the year that there were two things we ought to seek as allies. One is unity of aim and the other unity of action. The first we have achieved. Never have allies worked in greater harmony and more perfect accord than the Allies in this great struggle. There has been no friction, no misunderstanding.

Tardiness in War Action

But when I come to unity of action, I still think there is a good deal left to be desired. I have only to refer to the incidents in Rumania, and each man can spell out for himself what I mean. The enemy has got the two supreme advantages of internal lines and one great dominant power that practically dominates the course of the war. We have neither of these advantages and we must, therefore, achieve the same end by other means.

Our advantages are advantages which time will improve. No one can say that we have made the best of the time. There has been a tardiness of decision and action. Be-

fore we can take full advantage of the enormous resources at the command of the Allies there must be some means of arriving at quicker and readier decisions and of carrying them out.

There must be more consultation between men; in the matter of the direction of affairs there must be less feeling that each country has got only its own front to look after. There must be a just policy of a common front as there is on the other side. Austrian guns are helping the German infantry and German infantry is stiffening the Austrian Army. The Turks are helping the Germans; Austrians and Bulgarians mix with all. There is an essential feeling that there is but one front, and we have got to get that more and more, instead of having overwhelming guns on one side and bare breasts and gallant hearts on the other.

Regrets Break with Asquith

I end with one personal note, I may say, and I say it with all sincerity, that it was one of the deepest regrets of my life that I parted with the right honorable gentleman opposite, (Mr. Asquith.) Some of his friends know how I strove to avert it. For years I served under the right honorable gentleman, and I never had a kinder or more indulgent chief. If there were any faults of temper they were entirely mine, and I have no doubt that I must have been very difficult at times. No Member of Parliament has greater admiration for his brilliant intellectual gifts, and no man was happier to serve under him than I for eight years. We differed as men of such different temperaments must necessarily differ, but we never had a personal quarrel.

Issues That Are Above Party

In spite of serious differences, it was with deep, genuine grief that I felt it to be necessary to tender my resignation to my right honorable friend, but there are moments when personal and party considerations must sink into actual insignificance, and if in this war I have given scant heed to the call of party, (and so I have,) it has been because I realized from the moment when Prussian cannon hurled death at a peaceable and inoffensive little country that a challenge had been sent to civilization to decide an issue higher than party, deeper than party, wider than all parties—an issue upon the settlement of which will depend the fate of men in this world for generations after the existing parties will be fallen like dead leaves on the highway. These are the issues that I want to keep in front of the nation so that we should not falter in our faith in our cause.

There is a time in every prolonged war, in the passionate rage of the conflict, when men forget the high purpose with which they entered into it.

This is the struggle for international right, international honor, international good faith—the channel along which peace on earth and good-will among men must follow. The embattlements, laboriously built up by generations of men against barbarism, were broken, and had not the might of Britain passed into the breach, Europe would have been inundated with a flood of savagery and unbridled lust of power.

The trained sense of fair play among the nations, the growth of an international consciousness for the protection of the weak against the strong, of a stronger consciousness that justice has a more powerful backing in the world than greed, the knowledge that any outrage upon fair dealing between nations, great or small, will meet with prompt and inevitable chastisement—these constitute the causeway along which humanity was progressing slowly to higher fields.

The triumph of Prussia would sweep it all away and leave mankind to struggle, helpless, in the morass of horror. That is why, since this war began, I have known but one political aim. For that I have fought with a single aim. That was to rescue mankind from the most overwhelming catastrophe that has ever yet menaced its well-being.

An Official German Comment

The day after the delivery of Lloyd George's address the German Ambassador to the United States declared that he did not feel that the speech or the forthcoming official reply of the Allies to the German note shattered the hope of early peace. He indicated that if the reply was on the lines of the declarations of the various allied Governments, the Central Empires would transmit a second note in which it would be stated that they are willing to present their detailed proposals at a conference of representatives of all the belligerents; he stated that Germany would be willing to discuss reparation, but would probably insist on some mutual adjustment in this regard, meaning that if Germany compensated for damages in Belgium, Russia would have to make reparation for damages in East Prussia.

Lord Curzon and ex-Premier Asquith On the Peace Overtures

LORD CURZON, President of the War Council and Government leader, in discussing the German overture in the House of Lords Dec. 19, said:

The policy of the new Government is that the war must be conducted with the utmost prosecution; that there must be an ample return for all sacrifices; that full reparation must be made by the enemy for his countless crimes, and security given that those crimes will not be repeated, and that the sacrifices made shall not have been in vain.

The Government's aim is that the peace of Europe shall be re-established on the basis of the free and independent existence of nations great and small, and that, as regards this country, it shall be free from the menace which the triumph of Germany and the German spirit would entail.

Our answer to Germany's latest move must be swift and sure. It is not too much to ask the people to take upon themselves for a few months the obligations which Germany has imposed upon herself. The nation is fighting for its life and is entitled to the best and fullest service of its sons.

Alluding to the position of Rumania, Lord Curzon said that Germany's success was by no means so great as she was trying to make it appear:

Evidence is forthcoming daily of the desperate straits of Germany at home and in the field. The position of the Central Powers is not so good as they would have the world believe. Our attitude should not be one of despondency or alarm.

Lord Curzon spoke for an hour and twenty minutes, and was followed by the Marquis of Crewe, Lord President of the Council in the late Government, who approved in general terms the policy outlined by his successor, Lord Curzon, touching peace. He said:

We have not much hope that Germany's peace offer will lead to anything. The offer, however, seems an indication of the strength of the pressure of our blockade. If peace were made on German terms, while the present age may not see war again, nobody can say that our children will not witness another war with greater horrors. We must carry it on to the last man and the last shilling.

Ex-Premier Asquith followed Premier Lloyd George in his address to Parliament on the 19th, saying:

I agree with Mr. Lloyd George that Rumania has been bad business, although it is not possible at this moment, even if it were desirable, to go into the matter precisely to apportion the different degrees of responsibility, and I have no desire to enter into that question. Yet I am heartily in agreement with him. We have often discussed the matter together and I do say that it is a very good illustration of the desirability, nay, urgent necessity, of more intimate co-operation between the General Staff and politics of the allied countries.

You cannot get over, unfortunately, in this world the limitations of time and space and the difficulty of bringing together in constant and intimate communication not only soldiers, but still more the representatives, of four powers so widely separated geographically and otherwise. As those who constitute this alliance know, these difficulties are, I will not say insurmountable, but very great. If the right honorable gentleman, Lloyd George, and his colleagues can devise some method of bringing about more intimate communication they will render one of the greatest services it is possible to render to the Allies, I wish him all success in that direction.

In all the speeches made by members of the late Administration there breathed a spirit of hearty good-will for Lloyd George in his task. Lord Crewe said his Government "was not precisely a dictatorship, but it came not very far from being one." A dictatorship, in Crewe's opinion, demanded complete immunity from criticism of all kinds, whether in Parliament or press. He said:

There was some idea that when the decrepit figures and tottering intellects of the late Government had disappeared from the scene an era of perpetual new enterprises would begin and that lightning decisions would be taken every day, and, possibly, twice a day. Some felt, however, that the conduct of the war was not such a random and slapdash enterprise as certain gentlemen appeared to think. There had always been a number of wiseacres, writers and speakers, who had urged that we should proceed straight ahead, prepared to ignore our allies or to flout neutrals at any point, if it appeared advantageous to their program to do so.

He ventured to think that those people would not find the present Government such a set of charlatans as they anticipated. He believed the Government was

well aware that it would have been easy enough in the past to have lost the war finally in a month by some of the actions which were pressed upon the late Government from certain quarters, and, in a way, believed the same thing was true. He was confident the Government would display the necessary qualities of energy and determination, and he did not believe they would repudiate the quality of judgment.

French leaders warmly indorsed Premier Lloyd George's utterances. Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, the great French pacifist, said regarding the speech:

Lloyd George, in his admirable speech, is faithful to his past. All his life he has desired peace. Before the war he went several

times to Germany, as I did, to exhort the Germans to peace. Today he is unable to accept the comedy of peace. Just like us and the Allies, he wants really to finish the war. He cannot put faith in the vague peace propositions of the German Government. All the world sees in it a perfidious war manoeuvre to deceive the German people and universal opinion. If the German Government is sincere, let it prove it as regards the past by making known the reparations it owes its victims; as regards the future by giving the guarantees it owes the world.

Jean Finot, editor of *La Revue*, in referring to it, said:

There is a collective conscience of the Allies. Lloyd George, after having contributed to forming it, now embodies it with energy and precision. Having grasped it, he will, if necessary, be one of its chiefs, if not the chief. The Allies needed a single man; we salute Lloyd George.

President Wilson's Note Requesting Peace Terms of All Belligerents

PRESIDENT WILSON dispatched a note to all the belligerents on Dec. 18, 1916, calling upon them in diplomatic but firm language to state explicitly the precise terms of each which might serve as a basis for the restoration of peace. The decision of the President was carefully kept from the public, even the leaders of Congress being left in entire ignorance of it until Wednesday evening, Dec. 20. The note was released to the press at midnight, Dec. 20, and its publication produced a sensation second only in importance to that created by Germany's original peace overtures. The President, it is stated—and he affirms it in the note—had decided to take the step long before the Central Empires had initiated the move for peace, but deferred action until the moment had arrived which he deemed propitious for transmitting the communications. The decision to forward the Teutonic peace note without comment is said to have had no bearing on the President's action.

The action by the United States was received with pronounced approval by the German Embassy and German supporters throughout the country; leading Democratic Senators and Congressmen

also expressed hearty support, but there was a distinct note of dissent among those who held that the action was ill-advised at this juncture and might do more harm than good, by irritating the Allies with the belief that it was part of the German program. The British Embassy at Washington let it be known at once that they were taken completely by surprise by the action of the President and that no interchange had passed through the embassy prior to its publication.

Text of President's Note

The Secretary of State to the American Ambassadors at the Capitals of the Belligerent Powers:

Department of State,
Washington, D. C., Dec. 18, 1916.

The President directs me to send you the following communication to be presented immediately to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Government to which you are accredited:

The President of the United States has instructed me to suggest to the [here is inserted a designation of the Government addressed] a course of action with regard to the present war,

which he hopes that the Government will take under consideration as suggested in the most friendly spirit, and as coming not only from a friend but also as coming from the representative of a neutral nation whose interests have been most seriously affected by the war and whose concern for its early conclusion arises out of a manifest necessity to determine how best to safeguard those interests if the war is to continue.

[The third paragraph of the note as sent to the four Central Powers—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria—is as follows:]

The suggestion which I am instructed to make the President has long had it in mind to offer. He is somewhat embarrassed to offer it at this particular time, because it may now seem to have been prompted by a desire to play a part in connection with the recent overtures of the Central Powers. It has, in fact, been in no way suggested by them in its origin, and the President would have delayed offering it until those overtures had been independently answered but for the fact that it also concerns the question of peace and may best be considered in connection with other proposals which have the same end in view. The President can only beg that his suggestion be considered entirely on its own merits and as if it had been made in other circumstances.

[The third paragraph of the note as sent to the ten Entente Allies—Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Russia, Belgium, Montenegro, Portugal, Rumania, and Serbia—is as follows:]

The suggestion which I am instructed to make the President has long had it in mind to offer. He is somewhat embarrassed to offer it at this particular time, because it may now seem to have been prompted by the recent overtures of the Central Powers. It is, in fact, in no way associated with them in its origin, and the President would have delayed offering it until those overtures had been answered but for the fact that it also concerns the question of peace and may best be considered in connection with other proposals which have the same end

in view. The President can only beg that his suggestion be considered entirely on its own merits and as if it had been made in other circumstances.

[Thenceforward the note proceeds identically to all the powers, as follows:]

The President suggests that an early occasion be sought to call out from all the nations now at war such an avowal of their respective views as to the terms upon which the war might be concluded and the arrangements which would be deemed satisfactory as a guaranty against its renewal or the kindling of any similar conflict in the future as would make it possible frankly to compare them. He is indifferent as to the means taken to accomplish this. He would be happy himself to serve, or even to take the initiative in its accomplishment, in any way that might prove acceptable, but he has no desire to determine the method or the instrumentality. One way will be as acceptable to him as another, if only the great object he has in mind be attained.

He takes the liberty of calling attention to the fact that the objects, which the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides have in mind in this war, are virtually the same, as stated in general terms to their own people and to the world. Each side desires to make the rights and privileges of weak peoples and small States as secure against aggression or denial in the future as the rights and privileges of the great and powerful States now at war. Each wishes itself to be made secure in the future, along with all other nations and peoples, against the recurrence of wars like this and against aggression or selfish interference of any kind. Each would be jealous of the formation of any more rival leagues to preserve an uncertain balance of power amid multiplying suspicions; but each is ready to consider the formation of a league of nations to insure peace and justice throughout the world. Before that final step can be taken, however, each deems it necessary first to settle the issues of the present war upon terms which will certainly safeguard the independence, the territorial integrity, and the political and

commercial freedom of the nations involved.

In the measures to be taken to secure the future peace of the world the people and Government of the United States are as vitally and as directly interested as the Governments now at war. Their interest, moreover, in the means to be adopted to relieve the smaller and weaker peoples of the world of the peril of wrong and violence is as quick and ardent as that of any other people or Government. They stand ready, and even eager, to co-operate in the accomplishment of these ends, when the war is over, with every influence and resource at their command. But the war must first be concluded. The terms upon which it is to be concluded they are not at liberty to suggest; but the President does feel that it is his right and his duty to point out their intimate interest in its conclusion, lest it should presently be too late to accomplish the greater things which lie beyond its conclusion, lest the situation of neutral nations, now exceedingly hard to endure, be rendered altogether intolerable, and lest, more than all, an injury be done civilization itself which can never be atoned for or repaired.

The President therefore feels altogether justified in suggesting an immediate opportunity for a comparison of views as to the terms which must precede those ultimate arrangements for the peace of the world, which all desire and in which the neutral nations as well as those at war are ready to play their full responsible part. If the contest must continue to proceed toward undefined ends by slow attrition until the one group of belligerents or the other is exhausted; if million after million of human lives must continue to be offered up until on the one side or the other there are no more to offer; if resentments must be kindled that can never cool and despairs engendered from which there can be no recovery, hopes of peace and of the willing concert of free peoples will be rendered vain and idle.

The life of the entire world has been

profoundly affected. Every part of the great family of mankind has felt the burden and terror of this unprecedented contest of arms. No nation in the civilized world can be said in truth to stand outside its influence or to be safe against its disturbing effects. And yet the concrete objects for which it is being waged have never been definitively stated.

The leaders of the several belligerents have, as has been said, stated those objects in general terms. But, stated in general terms, they seem the same on both sides. Never yet have the authoritative spokesmen of either side avowed the precise objects which would, if attained, satisfy them and their people that the war had been fought out. The world has been left to conjecture what definitive results, what actual exchange of guaranties, what political or territorial changes or readjustments, what stage of military success, even, would bring the war to an end.

It may be that peace is nearer than we know; that the terms which the belligerents on the one side and on the other would deem it necessary to insist upon are not so irreconcilable as some have feared; that an interchange of views would clear the way at least for conference and make the permanent concord of the nations a hope of the immediate future, a concert of nations immediately practicable.

The President is not proposing peace; he is not even offering mediation. He is merely proposing that soundings be taken in order that we may learn, the neutral nations with the belligerent, how near the haven of peace may be for which all mankind longs with an intense and increasing longing. He believes that the spirit in which he speaks and the objects which he seeks will be understood by all concerned, and he confidently hopes for a response which will bring a new light into the affairs of the world.

LANSING.

[Copies of the above will be delivered to all neutral Governments for their information.]

WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES

[GERMAN VIEW]

Conquest of Rumania and Its Effects

By H. H. von Mellenthin

Foreign Editor New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung

[See also "Germany's Drive in Rumania" on Page 642]

THE Central Powers have once more wrested the initiative from the hands of their opponents. This is, from the purely military standpoint, the outstanding war event of the month ending about the middle of December. The Central Powers have regained the initiative on all principal theatres of war and on all fronts save the Macedonian. They had lost it in the west, on the Somme and Ancre Rivers, as well as in the east, through the massive Russian offensive against Lemberg and the "break-through" attempt against the Carpathians, with the Hungarian plain as the coveted goal. In the west and east the Central Powers' armies had been thrown upon the defensive by the initiative of the attackers.

The concerted, simultaneous offensive of the Entente Powers had been aimed at crushing the Central Empires. It was in that mood of aggression that David Lloyd George, then War Minister of Great Britain and now head of the War Council of Five, that is, virtually dictator, made the assertion that England would deal a "knock-out blow" to Germany.

It was in the same spirit that the intervention of Rumania was interpreted as a decisive event in favor of the Entente. The concerted offensive of the Allies, however, found the Central Powers armed for resistance and prepared for counterblows. Defensive became initiative.

Meanwhile an entirely new front has been established in the east. A new task has been dictated to the war, a task quite different from that which was to be fulfilled by the unity and simultaneousness of the great offensives of the Allies. This new front is the result of the development of the Rumanian campaign.

It is, in length, about equal to that in Belgium and France. It stretches from the Jablonitz Pass to the Bukowinian wooded Carpathians, across the basin of Keds-Varsarhely in southeastern Transylvania down to the Danube. There the mobility of the warfare has closely linked up the Russian front with the Rumanian campaign.

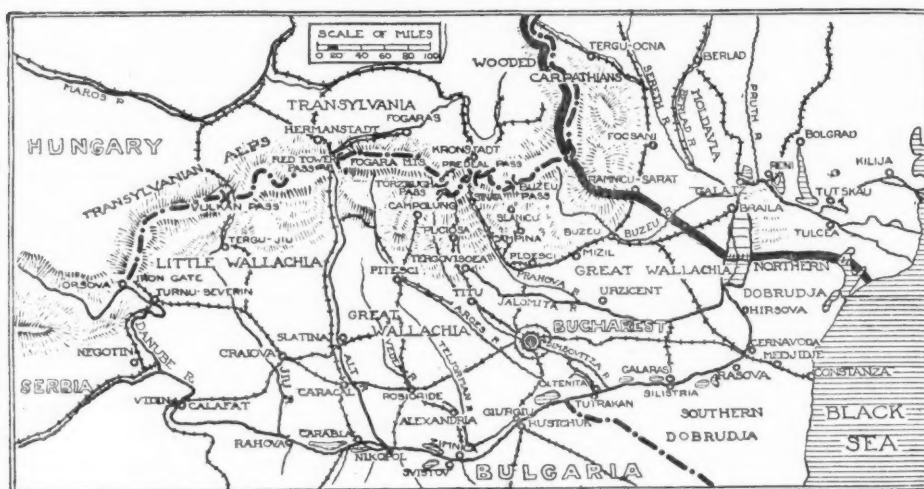
The military initiative regained by the Central Powers has thrown the allied offensives on the two hitherto most important fronts back into position warfare, and has at the same time developed on a new front a mobile warfare such as has not been seen in this war, not even in the Galician "break-through" battle and in the Poland campaign.

Falkenhayn in Rumania

The statement which Hindenburg made at the time of Rumania's entry into the war is coming true. He said at that time: "The participation of Rumania in the war restores to us the freedom of military mobility." Mobile warfare up to the middle of December had taken the following course:

On Nov. 21 General von Falkenhayn's army occupied Craiova. This army had pushed through Vulkan Pass, defeated the Rumanians at Targu-Jiu in an extremely bloody battle, reached the railway at Filiasa, and advanced along that vital railroad.

With Craiova the new basis for the further advance against the extremely strong hostile line on the Alt River had been established. The immediate effect first made itself felt on the extreme western theatre of war. On Nov. 23 Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian troops recaptured Orsova and pushed forward to Turnu-Severin, the most important



MAP OF RUMANIA, SHOWING REGION CONQUERED BY TEUTONIC FORCES. THE BLACK LINE AT UPPER RIGHT-HAND CORNER INDICATES THE BATTLE FRONT ON DEC. 15, 1916

Danube port in Little Wallachia. Thus the Teutons and their allies gained control of the 150-kilometer sector Orsova-Craiova of the great Rumanian railway, and therewith the rear communication for the bringing up of war material was secured.

From Craiova the victorious Ninth Army of von Falkenhayn continued its advance in an easterly direction against the Alt River. At the same time the armies of Field Marshal von Mackensen moved on from the south. Under the Field Marshal's personal direction they crossed the Danube at Somovit and Svis-tova and took the villages of Simnitza, west of the Vedeia River, as well as Is-lacz and Rakevitza, on the Alt. The Bulgarians occupied several Danube islands at Gigen, Rahova, Lom-Palanka, and Vidin.

The advance on Rumanian soil developed in the area between the Alt and Vedeia Rivers, until, on Nov. 25, Alexandria was reached, eighty kilometers southwest of Bucharest. There the junction of the Ninth Army of General von Falkenhayn and the Danube army of Field Marshal von Mackensen was effected.

The Ninth Army, advancing from Craiova, had crossed the Alt. Rumanian cavalry which, through an attack, attempted to bring to a standstill the

flightlike retreat of the Rumanian forces east of the Alt, was beaten back by German horsemen under the command of General Count von Schmettow. The Rumanians were forced to defend their long line along the Alt after the Teuton forces had pushed forward from the north, through Rothenthurm Pass, along the Alt Valley, into Rumania.

On Nov. 28 the entire Alt line was in the hands of the invaders. In the northern area of fighting the Rumanians had been driven across the Topolog. In the Vedeia area (on the southern end of the new front) the Central Powers' armies occupied Alexandria—the Ninth Army under Falkenhayn, from the west, and Mackensen's Danube army from the south. In addition, they took the positions in the area between Valeni and Rosiori-de-Vede, also situated on the Vedeia. Rosiori lies forty kilometers northwest of the railway lines, Craiova-Bucharest, (west to east,) and Petesci-Simnitza, (north and south.)

On Dec. 4 the victors, after the occupation of Gradistea, had advanced within thirteen kilometers of Bucharest. In the northwestern area the defenders had been thrown back across the Arges River and beyond the railway intersection of Titu, forty-five kilometers northwest of Bucharest. To the east of this point Targovistea, not far from Ploesci, had been

captured. From the Transylvanian Alps as far down as the Danube the victorious allied armies had joined hands.

Closing in on Bucharest

On the line of attack south of the capital, from Calugareni via Comana eastward to Chimpati, Mackensen's Danube army, which had started out from Giurgiu, inflicted a severe defeat upon the Rumanians. The latter had attempted to attack the invaders by a flanking movement in the rear. They were themselves attacked in the flank and their lines were "rolled up." Teuton flying detachments cut the Comana-Bucharest railway sector in the rear of the beaten Russo-Rumanian army.

On the left wing, which stretched from the Transylvanian Alps down to the Danube, the invaders took Targovistea, on the railway to Bucharest by way of Titu. This brought them within reach of Ploesci and its rich petroleum districts. It also brought them within forty-five kilometers of the capital itself. After the Rumanian Army had been thrown back beyond the railhead at Titu, the Arges line, the last defense line of the Rumanians before Bucharest, had completely collapsed.

With the collapse of this last line of defense Bucharest itself became untenable. After the Rumanian Danube army had succeeded in making good its retreat, Field Marshal von Mackensen, Commander in Chief of all invading armies in Rumania, on Dec. 6 entered the Rumanian capital.

Bucharest is much more than a fortress fallen into enemy hands. Bucharest constitutes the answer to the assertion that the Central Powers and their allies had been forced into need of peace by the realization of their "weakness." Bucharest forms a new strong pillar of the bridge which victorious arms have established between the Central Powers and the Near East. Before the Rumanian capital the security of Constantinople, too, was fought for.

The fall of Bucharest will make its effect felt in all the State Chancelleries. It will open the eyes of the world as to the realities of the world war. Its effects at once began to make themselves felt in

the Russian Duma, in the secret sessions of the French Chamber of Deputies, and in the British Governmental crisis.

Dec. 8 was Mackensen's birthday. Bucharest fell to him as a birthday present.

The Peace Proposal

Bismarck said in his "Gedanken und Erinnerungen":

If the theory which the General Staff pursued during my incumbency, and which is a principle that forms part of the teaching of military science, may be expressed thus: "The Minister of Foreign Affairs does not resume the floor until the military high command deems the moment ripe for closing the Temple of Janus"—then there lies in this very dual face of Janus the warning that the Government of a belligerent State has to look in other directions besides the theatre of war.

The task of the high command is the destruction of the enemy's military forces; the object of war is fighting for a peace under conditions which correspond to the policy pursued by the State. The chief difficulty lies in judging just when the proper moment has come for initiating the transition from war to peace.

The moment for initiating the transition from war to peace has arrived at the moment when the methods of war have achieved that which diplomacy failed to accomplish. It is from this point of view that the peace offer of the Central Powers must be considered and discussed.

The peace terms must correspond to the military situation. If we take the fall of Bucharest as the "burning point" at which centres today all importance of the events on the various theatres of war, and whence emanate all the consequences for the further development of the military situation, we obtain the following basis for peace conditions corresponding with military facts:

1. **RUMANIA:** Bucharest formed the connecting link between Falkenhayn's northern army and Mackensen's southern army. The fall of the capital forced the Russo-Rumanian armies into a concerted retreat on the whole front, from the Transylvanian Alps down to the Danube.

Meanwhile, strong forces of the allied Dobrudja army crossed the Danube between Cernavoda and Silistria. They advanced along the Cernavoda-Petesci railway against the left sector of the Buzeu line, so as to be in a position to attack

the enemy in the flank should he actually rally for a stand. The Central Allies subsequently captured the City of Buzeu. With this vital point in their possession, they had gained control of the Buzeu line as well as of the lines leading eastward to Braila and Galatz, the two last Rumanian sources of supply from Bessarabia, and of the line leading south-eastward to Cernavoda, the marching base of the allied Dobrudja forces. At the same time, they had gained control of a new line of communication, beyond Patarlagele, with the pass roads of the Transylvanian Alps.

With the piercing of the Buzeu line at two points, by the Falkenhayn army, the second possibility of a stand on the part of the retreating Russo-Rumanian forces was removed.

The Russo-Rumanian Dobrudja army also was carried along by the general whirl of retreat; it evacuated its positions. The retreat of this army, however, can head only in one direction: Bessarabia, since an attempt to cross the wide and swampy Danube area, with the pursuers hot on their heels, would inevitably result in a catastrophe. The pursuit of this army must, therefore, ultimately open to the invaders the gates from the Dobrudja to Bessarabia.

After the piercing of the Buzeu line, the two Danube ports, Braila and Galatz, must fall automatically to the Central Powers' troops. Thus, the Russo-Rumanian front inevitably will be turned to such an extent that it will run due west to east, from Kronstadt through the eastern slopes of the Transylvanian Alps as far as the Bessarabian border. At the time of Bucharest's fall, it will be remembered, the Rumanian front stood due north to south.

The new front for which the invaders are thus heading must threaten the flank of the entire Russian line in the wooded Carpathians. The Russians would be compelled not only to give up the Bukowina, but also to retire from Eastern Galicia.

2. *RUSSIA*: In the wooded Carpathians the Russians, in order to relieve the pressure exerted by the Teutons and their allies upon the Rumanians, under-

took an offensive, supported on the southern end of their front by Rumanian troops.

Already the question has been raised in Entente quarters whether Rumania's entrance into the war was advantageous to the Allies' cause or whether it merely brought the Entente new embarrassment. The efforts which Russia is making at this moment in the wooded Carpathians are also dictated by embarrassment, born of the inability of helping the Rumanians on the theatre of war where the decision falls. The Russians have been unable to carry out their own offensive in East Galicia and in the wooded Carpathians. This new offensive in behalf of the Rumanians could be successful only if it were carried out with the aid of large reinforcements both of men and munitions.

It is known, however, that the Russian grand offensive broke down owing to the lack of men and munitions, after the abundant original resources had been squandered at a veritably insane rate.

Campaign in Macedonia

3. *MACEDONIA*: The occupation of Monastir by the Entente forces on Nov. 18 signified the first actual military accomplishment of the Saloniki expedition in eleven months. After the French had reached the city from the south, advancing on the plain, and the Serbs in the battles in the Cerna bend had advanced to a position whence they could bombard the town from the east, Monastir, situated as it is entirely in the valley, became forthwith untenable. The military significance of this success remains to be seen in the future development of the West Macedonian campaign. The next objective of the advance is said to be Prilep, forty kilometers to the northeast as the crow flies.

Beyond Prilep the way leads to Nish. The ultimate "goal" of the operations from Monastir is the Orient Railway. What the Entente failed to accomplish by a thrust through Bulgaria, they propose to achieve by an advance through Serbia: the cutting of the communication between the Central Powers and Turkey. The distance from Monastir to Nish is 260 kilometers. The Entente advance has come to a standstill at Monastir.

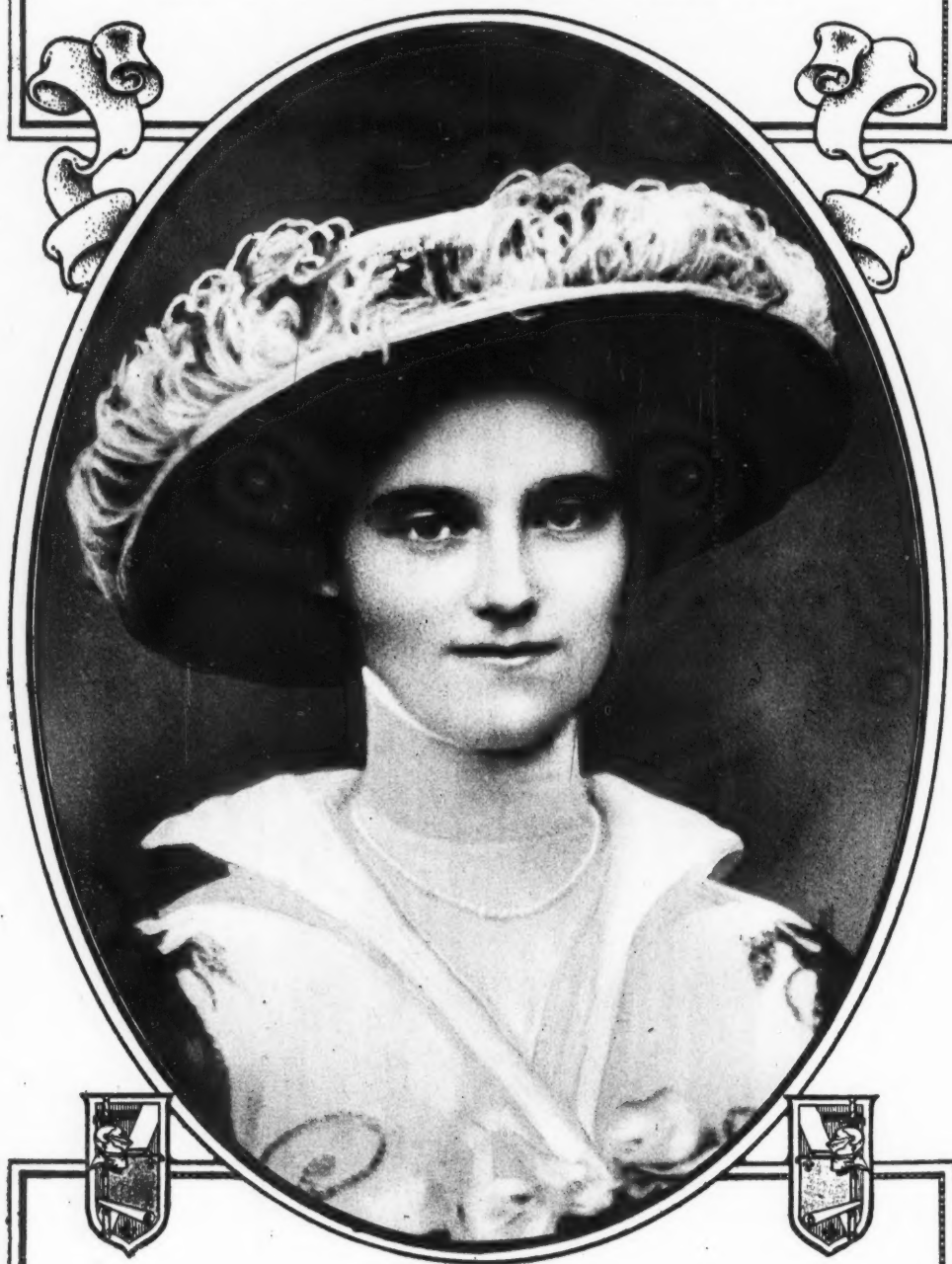
EMPEROR CHARLES I. OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY



Former Archduke Charles Francis Joseph, Who Succeeded to the Throne Upon the Death of Emperor Francis Joseph.

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood.)

NEW EMPRESS OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY



Empress Zita, Princess of Bourbon and Parma, Whose Husband,
Charles I., Now Reigns Over the Dual Monarchy.

[AMERICAN VIEW]

The Month's Military Developments

From November 15 to December 15, 1916

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

THE month's military interest has centred in three fields—Rumania, Macedonia, and France. Last month's review of events in Rumania was written as the opposing armies were practically at a deadlock. In Dobrudja, Mackensen had been halted; in the various passes which afford means of ingress from Transylvania into Rumania von Falkenhayn had been making futile attacks, first here, then there, seeking to find a point at which he could penetrate the Rumanian defense and open to invasion the plains of Central Rumania. Up to Nov. 15 the great effort had been made for the passes south of Kronstadt and Hermannstadt, for if these could be forced Rumania would be split fairly in half. The Rumanian defense at these points held, and the Germans were turned back.

Shifting his attack further west, von Falkenhayn then struck Vulkan Pass. Here he was more successful, and after a series of battles finally broke through the mountains, debouched on the southern side, and advanced along the railroad to Craiova. As the only railroad running from Bucharest into Little Wallachia passes through Craiova, the capture of this town cut off the Rumanian forces at Orsova and in addition such troops as were operating west of the Craiova line. This force proved to be about a division, and was subsequently cornered and captured. There was simply no means of escape.

Before following the victorious German Army in its advance through Rumania, there is one point in connection with this advance to Craiova that it is well to note. In advancing through the mountains down to the plain, von Falkenhayn had behind him the slim thread of a good dirt road as his main line of communications. His advance looked like an

exceedingly dangerous operation, threatening him constantly with serious consequences if his opponent had the power to strike at this line. It seems, however, that the opponent did not have this power, and it is further certain that von Falkenhayn knew it. The reason for this lack of power can be no other than the lack of munitions. The Rumanians had sufficient shell to begin their operations, but once they became involved, for some reason or other, the flow could not be or was not kept up. Had this not been the case, von Falkenhayn's life line would have been cut before he had proceeded twenty miles into Rumanian territory.

Sweeping Through Rumania

The Rumanians, after the fall of Craiova, fell back behind the Alt River, a good defensive line, with a railroad directly in its rear. This line, however, was turned in two ways. In the first place, the Germans broke through in the north to the east of this line and exposed the Rumanian right flank. Almost simultaneously the Bulgarians under Mackensen, who had personally assumed command of the forces along the Danube, forced a crossing of this river some miles to the rear of the Rumanian left flank. The line of the Alt was therefore turned on both flanks, and it became immediately necessary to vacate it and fall further back.

From this point on the Rumanians practically offered no resistance. They fell back from stream to stream until the line of the Arges was reached, the last possible line before Bucharest. From this line they made a spasmodic effort to break through the German right south of Bucharest. They had a temporary success, but the resistance was soon overcome, and they were again driven to the east bank of the river.

In the north the Germans advanced

with equal rapidity, and, as in the case of the Alt, forced the crossing of the upper Arges and so turned the entire line. Without making any effort to take advantage of the defenses of Bucharest, which, by the way, are quite elaborate, the Rumanians abandoned the city and continued their retreat.

It was evident, then, that the Rumanians had a definite object in view, and this was to fall back successfully, fighting only rearguard actions, to a line which was already in preparation, and which the higher command knew could be munitioned. There are two such lines which offer considerable advantages. The first is that of the Buzeu River. The only railroad which parallels this line is in front of it, not in its rear. Its usefulness is therefore destroyed when this railroad is cut, even though the line itself may remain intact.

The Germans, after the fall of Bucharest, quickly established themselves on a line running through Sinaia, Ploesci, and Bucharest, and began preparations for a further advance. After several days' delay, during which they were accumulating a fresh supply of ammunition, they again struck eastward. Their progress was much slower than before, but they nevertheless succeeded in reaching the Buzeu, taking the town of that name, and threatening the entire defensive position afforded by the river. Buzeu is on the railroad running from Braila to Bucharest.

This is the situation in the north as it exists as this review is being written. In the south, the left wing of the Rumanian Army, having several times the distance to travel which the right wing has, is still far behind the Buzeu line. It has crossed the Jablonitza, and is somewhere between the latter stream and the Buzeu, but its location, due to the absence of definite detailed reports, is not exactly known.

The problem with which the Rumanians are faced, then, is to retard the advance of the Germans in the north until the southern wing of the Rumanian Army has had time to swing northward as far as the defensive position selected. The line of the Buzeu has been practically eliminated by the cutting of the railroad,

which was to have served as a distributing line for supplies. It becomes necessary, then, for the Rumanians to fall back to the second line. This may be described as the line of the Sereth River. It runs from the town of Galatz along the eastern bank of the Sereth to the point where the Sereth is joined by one of the main tributaries. This tributary is a matter of choice, as there are several which would answer the purpose equally well. It will probably be, however, the Trotus. This is one of the largest tributaries and has the additional advantage of being followed on the northern bank by a railroad. The same is true of the Sereth, and for this reason the Sereth is a much more favorable position than the Buzeu.

During the latter days of the Rumanian retreat the Russians have been conducting a heavy offensive in the Trotus Valley. If the Russians are successful in penetrating to any depth into Transylvania through the Trotus gap they will make absolutely secure the Rumanian right flank. The Teutons themselves will then be thrown on the defensive, and will hardly be able to hold their own positions.

In summing up the Rumanian defeat, it does not appear that the Germans have accomplished any positive result in so far as Rumania's relation to the war as a whole is concerned. Rumania was a threat against Turkey primarily, and in defeating the Rumanians the Germans have acted defensively, and have succeeded only in warding off a dangerous thrust. The action may take a positive phase later if the Sereth line can be broken and the Germans thus thrown in rear of the Russians in Bukowina. Then the Russians will have to fall back to protect their lines of communication, and the German threat will be transferred to them. This is the great danger of the collapse of Rumania.

As far as the matter has gone, however, it is purely negative. The Germans are certainly no better off than before the Rumanians entered the field. In fact, they have to meet a decided lengthening of their line, and they have suffered not inconsiderable losses at a time

when they could ill afford to bear this additional burden. This can be compensated for only by a defeat of the Russians.



VERDUN POSITIONS RECAPTURED BY FRENCH. DOTTED LINES SHOW LATEST ADVANCES. UPPER BLACK LINE INDICATES GERMAN POSITION BEFORE VERDUN DRIVE LAST FEBRUARY

The Serbs at Monastir

In Macedonia the Serbs have maintained a continuous advance, which finally resulted in the capture of their immediate objective, Monastir. The operation leading up to this was a flanking move which directly threatened the main line of Bulgarian communications. The Serbs paid little attention to the plain of Monastir. This plain is a relatively easy matter to defend, and the line could not be forced without a very heavy expenditure of men. The mountains in the bend of the Cerna River, however, completely dominate the plain, and are much more susceptible to attack, as no continuous defensive line can be constructed and held. The Serbs took advantage of this fact, and, by advancing steadily in the mountains, finally worked their way north of Monastir, though to the east of it, and thus threatened the road from Monastir to Prilep.

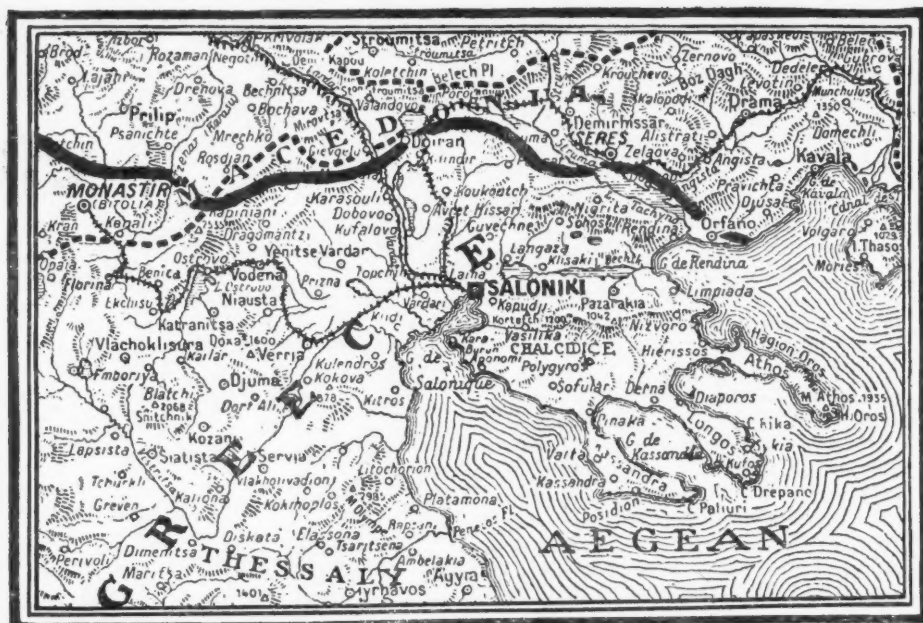
The Serbs in this action had one great advantage. While the Bulgarians were dependent upon a good dirt road for their supplies, the Serbs had behind them the railroad from Saloniki, which terminates

at Monastir. Their supplies, therefore, came up more quickly and in greater bulk. This enabled them to move quickly against Monastir the moment they were in a position commanding the heights overlooking the plain. There was nothing for the Bulgarians to do but to fall back and guard their supply line. Almost without a struggle, then, the Bulgarians were forced to give up the Macedonian capital and abandon their trenches and defensive works in the plains.

The value of Monastir is, however, of greater value politically than it is from a military viewpoint. Consequently it does not give the Serbs any great advantage that can be followed up. It is an excellent advance base from which to work. More than this cannot be said of it.

A Lull on the Somme

On the western front the battle of the Somme has died out, with but little prospect of renewal. This is caused, not by the exhaustion of the Allies, as the German critics prefer to believe, but by the condition of the ground, due to the heavy rains and the advent of Winter. It is a veritable quagmire over which infantry cannot advance and artillery cannot be moved. This condition precludes any present continuance of the offensive. As demonstrating that the western allies are still capable of delivering sledgehammer blows at the German line, and that they are in no sense exhausted, we have the great and successful effort of the French at Verdun. The scene of this achievement was generally the same as that of the last blow the French struck in this region. The result, accomplished quickly and with small loss, was greater than anything they have attempted since Summer. The German line in the section between Pepper Hill and Douaumont has been pushed back to where it was on the third day of the German Verdun offensive, and at a loss in prisoners alone of nearly 10,000 men. If any doubt still existed as to the possibility of the Germans ever taking the French fortress, it has now been dispelled. Every position of vantage on the east bank of the Meuse is once more in the hands of the French.



BATTLE LINE IN MACEDONIA, DEC. 15, 1916, SHOWING PROGRESS OF ANGLO-FRENCH-SERBIAN ADVANCE FROM SALONIKI

The ridge of Louvemont, the main defensive position on this side of the river, is intact, and it is almost certain that we shall never again see a German effort to retake it. The folly of the German offensive at Verdun is becoming more apparent with every French blow.

On the other fronts there has been general inactivity. There is not indeed a single action on which to comment. Apparently they have all settled down into a Winter condition with no intention of doing anything until Spring.

Some Maxims From Bismarck's Speeches

A question of right can be settled only with the bayonet in our European quarrels.—Jan. 22, 1864.

Parties and tastes are mutable. They perish, and new ones arise.—Jan. 22, 1864.

The Kings of Prussia have never been pre-eminently the Kings of the rich.—Feb. 15, 1865.

Whoever makes the most promises is apt to carry the election.—June 1, 1865.

All classes do a little smuggling, especially the women.—June 1, 1865.

Put Germany into the saddle and you will find that she knows how to ride.—March 11, 1867.

Governments are like women—the youngest please the most.—Dec. 9, 1868.

It is not possible to hasten the ripening of the fruit by holding a lamp underneath.—April 16, 1869.

Centralization is tyranny, more or less.—April 16, 1869.

Whoever carries the money bag is the people's master.—April 26, 1869.

Every country knows that peace and security rest in the sword.—May 22, 1869.

Liberty is a luxury which not every one can afford.—May 22, 1869.

General Robert Nivelle

GENERAL ROBERT NIVELLE, who now succeeds Joffre as Commander in Chief of the western battle line of the Allies, while Joffre devotes himself to the larger work of co-ordinating the armies on all fronts, has been commander of the Army of Verdun since May, when he succeeded General Pétain. At the outbreak of the war General Nivelle was Colonel of a regiment of artillery. His rapid promotion is due at once to his own inherent force and to the clairvoyance of Joffre, who has shown himself a superlative judge of military genius. Robert Nivelle was, like Joffre, a graduate of the Ecole Polytechnique at Paris, but he had earlier studied at Saint-Cyr; so that both artillery and infantry can claim him. He had also, curiously enough, a thorough cavalry training in the Saumur school, and is still remembered there for the mingled courage and skill with which he tamed and trained unruly horses.

Nivelle saw service in the staff of the army in China and in Northern Africa. In the East he showed that he possessed the gift of tongues in a remarkable degree, and, after the Peking expedition, which he made under General Voyron, he was sent, in recognition of this gift, on a special mission to the Emperor of Korea. He had then reached the rank of Major, and in the *Revue de Paris* he wrote an account of his mission, in which his lucid grace of style, the keenness of his insight, his philosophy touched with humor, united in revealing a rare combination of gifts. Without question, the young Major did not foresee that soon he would live through "the hard and splendid hours" (the expression is his own) whose sharp

and violent savor his thirst for action craved.

From the day on which, as commander of the Fifth Regiment of Artillery, he left Besançon for Alsace, the mentions in the Orders of the Day are Nivelle's best history. First is recorded the capture of a group of German artillery, against which he directed his fire with such precision that the whole group was soon after found abandoned on the battlefield. The twenty-four guns thus captured were the earliest trophies of the war. A few days later Colonel Nivelle was on the Marne, where his regiment, which constituted the artillery of the Seventh Army Corps, (whose home is on the Swiss frontier, under the Jura Mountains,) and was then a part of General Maunoury's army, covered itself with glory.

Then, on Sept. 16, on the Aisne, a vigorous German counterthrust imperiled

the Seventh Army Corps, and compelled it to retreat for a short period across the river. But the Fifth Regiment of Artillery was on the spot, its commander vigilantly watching. Without hesitating, Colonel Nivelle, riding at the head of his guns, led them across in front of the retreating infantry, followed by the Germans already sure of victory. Allowing the enemy to approach in close formation, he turned his batteries upon them, and mowed them down in a veritable slaughter. The two German regiments making the attack, trying to escape from the murderous gusts of shrapnel, rushed forward to the wood which fringes the River Aisne, but there they found French bayonets waiting for them; the inspiration of Nivelle's artillery was contagious, and the Germans, turning, tried to run



GENERAL NIVELLE

back again. But on the bare plateau, Nivelle's gunners again caught them with an accurate fire, following them step by step, advancing or withdrawing with them. Few indeed of the 6,000 Germans who made the attack ever returned to their trenches.

Gazetted General in October, 1914, Nivelle commanded a brigade which fought brilliantly along the Aisne, and stopped, in January, 1915, the unforeseen German drive against Soissons. On the same day he was proposed for the command of a division, which was intrusted to him on Feb. 19, and which, shortly after, retook the Quennevières salient.

At the beginning of April, 1916, he came to the rescue of Verdun in command of the Third Army Corps, and his prowess and skill were such that General Joffre soon chose him to command the entire Army of Verdun. What he accomplished has passed into history as one of

the most splendid pages of the war. As the climax of a superb defense, which cost the Kaiser half a million men, General Nivelle recaptured, within the space of an Autumn afternoon, practically all the ground the Crown Prince had painfully gained in six months; and, as against the half million, Nivelle lost only 4,000 men, many of whom were only wounded. He crowned his record at Verdun by the brilliant dash of Dec. 15, which practically established the French lines at the positions they held before the German offensive in February.

General Nivelle, in taking leave of his staff Dec. 17, 1916, said:

"The test is conclusive; our method has proved sound. Once more the Second Army has just asserted in the highest degree its morale and material ascendancy over the enemy. Victory is certain; I give you assurance. Germany will learn it to her cost."

Maeterlinck's Tribute to the Dead

The following extract is from Maurice Maeterlinck's beautiful tribute entitled "The Day of the Dead," which appeared in Le Paris Figaro on All Souls' Day:

Our memories are peopled by a multitude of heroes, stricken in the flower of youth, and far different from that procession of yore, pale and worn out, which counted almost solely the aged and sickly, who were already scarcely alive when they left this earth. Today in all our houses, in town, in country, in palace, and in cottage, a young man dead lives and rules in all the beauty of his strength. He fills the poorest, darkest dwelling with glory, such as it had never dreamed of. It is terrible that we should have this experience, the most pitiless mankind has known, but, now that the ordeal is nearly over, we can think of the perhaps unexpected fruits which we shall reap.

One will soon see the breach widening and destinies diverging between those nations which have acquired all these dead and all this glory, and those who have been deprived of them and it. And one will be astonished to find that those which have lost most are those which will have kept their wealth, and their men. There are losses which are priceless gain, and there are gains in which one's future is lost. There are dead whom the living cannot replace and whose thought does things which no living bodies can do, and we are almost all now mandatories of some one greater, nobler, braver, wiser, and more alive than ourselves. He will be, with all his comrades, our judge.

If it be true that the dead weigh the souls of the living and that our fate depends upon their verdict, he will be our guide and our champion. For this is the first time since history revealed to us her catastrophes that man has felt above his head and in his heart such a multitude of such dead.

[FIFTH INSTALLMENT]

The Battle of the Somme

An Authoritative French Account Based on Official Records

[Translated from L'Illustration, Paris, for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

THE Franco-British operations in Picardy during the first week of October consisted especially in the consolidation and broadening of the conquered positions. A certain number of counterattacks by the enemy were repulsed: By French troops, on Oct. 5, to the north of Fregicourt; on Oct. 8, to the west of Sailly-Saillisel; on Oct. 9, to the east of Rancourt and the northeast of Bouchavesnes; by British troops, on Oct. 5 and 8, to the north of Thiepval, and, on the night of Oct. 6-7, toward Eaucourt-l'Abbaye. Local advances were realized almost daily, but there were far-reaching conflicts only on Oct. 7 and Oct. 10. On these two days the Allies passed to the offensive; on Oct. 7, to the north of the Somme; on Oct. 10, on both banks, but especially on the south. Both of them fully obtained their objectives, though these were not of great importance.

The Fighting on Oct. 7.

After the taking of Combles, the French sector to the north of the Somme held by General Fayolle was extended as far north as Morval, in such a way as to make Sailly-Saillisel our objective. On Oct. 7, at 2 P. M., the French and British troops attacked simultaneously. Our British allies developed their action from the Albert-Bapaume road as far as Les Boeufs, that is to say, along about five and a half miles, and we, from Morval to Bouchavesnes, say four and a quarter miles.

On their left wing the British contingents had before them the village of Le Sars, at 500 yards from which they held the Destremont Farm. Within a few hours they carried Le Sars and even advanced beyond it to the west and the east. But in the latter direction they found themselves stopped by the Butte of Warlencourt, which the Germans had pierced with galleries like a molehill, and worked

up into a formidable defense work. On the contrary, the successes gained to the west of Le Sars allowed the attack to progress beyond the Bapaume road and to make new gains of ground to the north and northeast of Courcellette. Between Gueudecourt and Les Boeufs the advance realized amounted to from 800 to 1,000 yards. More than 500 prisoners were taken.

The Actions of Oct. 10

Three days later other actions were developed. To the north of the Somme they were limited to a happy stroke to the south of Sailly-Saillisel, while the English, following up their work of "consolidation," captured 268 more of the enemy. But to the south of the river the Tenth Army—commanded by General Micheler—was more seriously engaged. The front had been stationary in this sector since the fighting of Sept. 15-18, which had given us possession of Vermandovillers, of Berny, and of the three groves of Vasset, Bovent, and Le Tremble. We took the offensive along a front of five kilometers, between Berny-en-Santerre and Chaulnes. A first assaulting detachment, issuing from Deniécourt and the Bovent Wood, seized the hamlet of Bovent and made its way as far as the northern outskirts of Ablaincourt; the western outskirts of this village were reached also by a second assaulting mass coming from the direction of Vermandovillers. Finally, on the south, we won a part of the woods which surround Chaulnes; 1,702 prisoners, two of whom were battalion commanders, and 25 officers, fell into our hands in the course of that operation. Our front, which from Berny to Chaulnes had followed the arc of a circle, now marked the chord of that arc.

Franco-British Offensives

Three allied attacks followed in rapid succession: On Oct. 12, by the British;

on Oct. 14, to the south of the Somme, by General Micheler's army; on Oct. 16, on the north bank of the river, by General Fayolle's army.

It was on the afternoon of Oct. 12 that the Fourth British Army took the offensive against the group of heights which separated it from the road running from Péronne to Bapaume, that is, along a front of four and a quarter miles between the north of Eaucourt-l'Abbaye and the east of Les Boeufs, on the further side of Gueudecourt. In order to prevent the extension of this action to the west the Germans immediately began a violent bombardment of the British positions situated to the northwest of Le Sars and to the north of Courcellette. It does not appear that, on the left of their sector of attack, on the outskirts of the Mound of Warlencourt, our allies made any great advance. But, on the right, during the evening of Oct. 12, they had already realized an advance varying between 500 and 1,000 meters in depth, particularly to the northwest of Gueudecourt and before Les Boeufs, in the direction of Transloy.

On Oct. 13 the enemy attempted a diversion by attacking in his turn, to the northeast of Thiepval, the Stuff redoubt. But the English reacted vigorously. On Oct. 15 they carried before this work two lines of connecting trenches to a distance of 200 yards. They likewise advanced their battle line to the north and west of the Schwaben redoubt. A very vigorous return offensive developed by the Germans on Oct. 17 resulted for them only in sanguinary failure.

The fighting of Oct. 10, to the south of the Somme, had carried the French as far as Ablaincourt, of which we held only the fringe. A reconnaissance by the One Hundred and Ninth Infantry, supported by several units of the Four Hundredth, had established itself, between 2:30 and 3 in the afternoon, in the northern street of the village. Certain elements even succeeded in gaining the cemetery, which is isolated to the east of the buildings. But, after several days of struggle among the houses in ruins, it became necessary to halt before the resistance of the enemy, who then occupied the southern part of the village.

Without spending our force on a conquest for which full preparation had not yet been made, our commanders decided to direct their efforts elsewhere. On Oct. 14 two simultaneous attacks were carried out: the one to the east of Belloy-en-Santerre, the other to the northeast of Ablaincourt.

To the east of Belloy our line followed approximately the road from Barleux to Berny, even going across it eastward at certain points. We took the offensive on a front of two kilometers, and captured the whole of the enemy first line. To the northeast of Ablaincourt we broadened our former gains, seizing the hamlet of Genermont, between Bovent and Fresnes-Mazancourt, and a sugar factory, for the possession of which there had already been violent fighting. These two operations brought us 1,100 more prisoners. The Germans counterattacked several times on Oct. 15, 16, and 17. We drove them back, in addition taking from them a little wood to the east of Berny-en-Santerre, as well as two 210-millimeter guns and one 77. During Oct. 18 we even extended our operations further to the north and carried by assault the whole of the enemy first line between Biaches and La Maisonnette, on a front of about a kilometer.

Entering Saily-Saillisel

The third interesting action—that of Oct. 16, to the north of the Somme—allowed us to gain a footing in Saily-Saillisel. It was preceded by several skirmishes; on Oct. 12 we had made some slight progress to the west of Saily; on Oct. 13 there were engagements toward Morval, Bouchavesnes, and the Saint-Pierre-Vaast Wood, to the north of which we had lost certain trench elements; on Oct. 14 we gained ground on the Malasise ridge. During this time we were directing an intense artillery preparation against the village of Saily-Saillisel, which we assaulted on the night of Oct. 15-16.

Saily-Saillisel is situated on a ridge whose height varies between 150 and 160 yards above sea level. It is a culminating point, which gives wide views toward the north and northeast. Toward the west the village is flanked by a château,

an old church, and a little wood called the Tripot Wood, of which the Germans had made redoubts.

The attack on Sailly-Saillisel was carried out from three sides at once. A first column, following the Bapaume road, reached the château on the south and took it in the rear. A second fraction, débouching from the west, rapidly carried the defenses of the Tripot Wood, entirely leveled by the bombardment. It penetrated the park of the château on the northeast and began a furious fight with the Germans who had taken refuge in the ruins of the church. Finally other troops had approached the position from the north. The struggle was carried into the connecting trenches underground, which joined the château to the village. We succeeded, after several hours' fighting, in seizing all the houses to the west of the road, and in advancing as far as the central crossroads. The enemy reacted vigorously, by infantry counterattacks and gun fire. Twice he succeeded in penetrating certain elements of our first line, but we threw him back again, inflicting heavy losses on him. And on Oct. 18 we had fortunately completed the conquest of Sailly-Saillisel.

During the following week the fighting on the Somme was not very extensive. Nevertheless, it gained us certain advantages. On the other hand, the almost daily counterattacks of the enemy failed completely.

From Sailly-Saillisel the Germans had overlooked the whole basin of Combles and the valley between the Bouleaux Wood and Morval. To the northwest of the village our progress had been stopped by a ridge 123 meters high. On Oct. 21, toward the close of the day, we captured this ridge also. On Oct. 22 we had advanced to the northeast of Morval.

Fighting Toward Chaulnes

In the southern sector we also made some progress on Oct. 19, between La Maissonnette and Biaches, carrying out, on Oct. 21, an attack of limited scope

toward Chaulnes. It was a question of capturing a part of a wood, called the Etoile Wood, which covers the village on the north. After three and a half hours of active artillery preparation the Zouaves and Algerian sharpshooters opened the assault and occupied the ground assigned to them.

As for the renewed German offensives, they were carried out on Oct. 19, in the afternoon, and on Oct. 21, during the forenoon, against Sailly-Saillisel; on Oct. 21, during the evening, an extremely violent attack, with large forces, was made between Biaches and La Maissonnette; on Oct. 22, both morning and evening, against the Etoile Wood, which we had just taken; on Oct. 23, to the south of Chaulnes, against our trenches close to the railroad. These different attempts cost the assailants heavy losses. They won for them only a few elements of trenches on the outskirts of the Blaise Wood, to the north of La Maissonnette.

The principal operation carried out by the English coincided with our offensive demonstrations of Oct. 21 to the north and south of the Somme. Our allies attacked on a front of three miles between the Schwaben redoubt to the north of Thiepval and the village of Le Sars. They took the Stuff and Regina trenches, advanced their lines from 300 to 500 yards in the direction of Grandcourt and Petit-Miraumont, and took more than 1,000 prisoners. On Oct. 23 a minor action to the east of Gueudecourt and Les Boeufs toward Transloy allowed them to advance on a front of a kilometer. Several times the Germans counterattacked. Their efforts were especially furious against the Schwaben redoubt, but they were vigorously repulsed.

The battle on the British front showed a tendency to extend to the north of the Ancre. The British reports several times recorded actions, whether in the Gommecourt sector, toward Arras, Neuve Chapelle, Loos, or Ypres. On Oct. 24 they also told of vigorous artillery duels to the south of Armentières.

Inner Meaning of the Cabinet Changes in Europe

THE political changes which have recently taken place in the belligerent countries, particularly the setting up of small War Councils with extraordinary powers in Great Britain and France, have primarily been due to popular dissatisfaction and the demand for a more energetic prosecution of the war. But, as it is never safe to say what are the causes of events till time has disclosed its secrets, we cannot tell at present what were all the hidden forces at work.

The British Cabinet crisis appears to have arisen from a struggle between Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George for the supreme control of the conduct of the war, the point at issue being the constitution of a new, smaller, and more authoritative War Council, from which Mr. Asquith, though Prime Minister, was to be excluded, or over which he was, at any rate, to have no right of veto. On Mr. Asquith's side were such Liberal colleagues as Viscount Grey, Lord Crewe, Mr. McKenna, Mr. Runciman, and Mr. Harcourt. Working with Lloyd George were Bonar Law, the Unionist leader in the Coalition, and other Unionist Ministers, as well as Sir Edward Carson, who played an important part in the crisis.

Lord Northcliffe's Attack

For some time previously a press campaign had been conducted by Lord Northcliffe and other Unionist newspaper owners against the Cabinet, and especially against "the elder statesmen," although, as Lord Derby pointed out in a speech in London on Dec. 6, most of the men of whom it was proposed to make a "clean sweep" were in the "vigorous prime of life." The two principal men no longer in the prime of life are Mr. Balfour, First Lord of the Admiralty, and Lord Lansdowne. The London Daily Mail, one of Lord Northcliffe's papers, which led the attack, described the Government as consisting of "twenty-three

men who can never make up their minds." The gravamen of the charge is to be found in the following typical extract from an editorial in The Daily Mail, which was headed "The Limpets, a National Danger":

With advancing age our Lansdownes and Balfours find it harder and ever harder to make up their minds and to face grave responsibility. The notorious characteristic of our "Government" of twenty-three is indecision. There are at this moment no fewer than seven questions urgently waiting to be decided. Most of them have been "under consideration" by the twenty-three for weeks or even months. Energy, promptitude, speed are indispensable for success in war. Time has today a surpassing value. But our "Government," though it has more than 100 committees endeavoring to make up its mind for it, can never decide. It just waits till the press and the Germans have done something which forces it to decide in a hurry—and too late.

Among the questions alluded to were the control of the Air Board, Germany's new submarine campaign, the distribution of man-power, the appointment of a food controller, the extension of the acreage under wheat, and the situation in Greece. The editorial concluded:

The country, despite the fact that it knows very little of the truth, is exasperated by this record, which is by no means complete. In every direction it is the same. But exasperation is not enough. The waste of time, which means waste of life and all that is dearest to us, can only be ended if the nation ends this "Government." And it can only bring this dangerous "Government" down by showing its will very forcibly indeed.

The nation has the gravest grounds for complaint against Mr. Bonar Law. As former leader of the Opposition, he is responsible, by bowing down to Mr. Asquith and accepting office in a Cabinet which contained a multitude of elderly men, some of whom opposed the war, and according to statements of their sympathizers still secretly oppose it, for depriving the nation of the one constitutional safeguard—an alternative Administration.

Mr. Lloyd George alone shows foresight and courage. We, the nation, look to him to end this tragedy, for it is a tragedy that these appalling blunderers should be in control of our affairs at this time.

The criticism of the Government was

not confined to the Unionist press. Two such leading organs of Liberal opinion as *The London Daily Chronicle* and *The Westminster Gazette* also took the Government to task. Curiously enough they each selected seven subjects of complaint. Those instanced by *The Chronicle* were the delay in dealing with man-power distribution, the dispute between the Air Board and the Admiralty, the delay in appointing a food controller, the extension of wheat growing, the pensions bill, the Irish situation, and the question of using African blacks as laborers. With the exception of the two last these subjects were also mentioned in *The Westminster Gazette's* criticism. *The Chronicle* editorial pointed out that

it was hoped at one time that the War Council, by its smaller number, would afford a remedy. But several of the very cases which we have specified seem to be the War Council's doing. It, in turn, has become a clumsy machine, without capacity for quick decision. Nor even if it covered its own field satisfactorily could it cover the whole field of Government. The Ministry's indecision does not merely affect time; it is lack of will power as well as of promptitude. The departments are not driven as a team by the Cabinet as a whole, nor by any single purposive direction; each aspires to plow its independent furrow, and resents falling in with a larger plan. The same irresolution at the centre, which is shown here, appears in the Government's attempts to guide the public. Petty pacifists or sedition-mongers of no consequence are bravely suppressed by the Home Office. But papers with large circulations, who use them to cause misunderstandings between the Allies or to magnify differences between this country and neutrals, seem allowed to do so without check or hindrance. We do not blame the Home Secretary; he cannot act without Cabinet support.

What are the remedies? Let us say at once that we see none at present in mere changes of persons. * * * Let us then direct our attention rather to its improvement than its displacement; and not ignore those unsensational remedies whose cumulative effect often turns a scale.

The Northcliffe papers had for a long time been agitating in favor of Lloyd George, and when the crisis arose on Dec. 1 it was thought that they were responsible for forcing the issue. The first hint, however, of the impending changes was contained in an editorial published on Nov. 30 in *The Daily Chronicle*, in which the creation of a smaller War

Council with larger powers was suggested. Again, on the morning of Dec. 2, the same journal seems to have been alone aware that Lloyd George had made his first move the previous day by proposing to Mr. Asquith the creation of a new War Council. *The Daily Chronicle* in an editorial, which in the light of subsequent events appears to have been inspired, stated that the suggested War Council was in contemplation and that the change was one to be warmly welcomed. So much for the part played by the London newspapers, which was considerable but not exactly what has generally been supposed, as can be seen from subsequent statements by Mr. Asquith and especially by Lord Derby, who was Lloyd George's right-hand man at the War Office.

The Course of Events

On Dec. 1 Mr. Lloyd George submitted his proposal for a new War Council to Mr. Asquith. The same day Mr. Asquith replied that he, as Prime Minister, must preside over such a body. The following day (Dec. 2) the two men had a friendly conference, and it appeared that an agreement satisfactory to both would be reached. Later, Mr. Asquith had an interview with the King, after which he left London for a week-end holiday. At this point there still does not seem to have been any break. On Sunday, (Dec. 3,) however, important developments took place as the result of a pact between Lloyd George and Bonar Law, supported by the Unionist Ministers. Mr. Asquith hurried back; there were interviews, and the upshot was that Lloyd George and Bonar Law tendered their resignations. The same night the official announcement was issued that the Government was to be reconstructed. This appeared in the papers next morning, (Dec. 4.) *The London Times*, in addition to printing the official statement, also published without authority what Mr. Asquith afterward described as "a confidential document known only to myself and one other person." The "one other person" was Lloyd George, but Mr. Asquith absolved him from all blame.

The result of this unauthorized publication was to alarm Mr. Asquith's Liberal colleagues and also the Labor sup-

porters of the coalition, who feared that Lloyd George and the Unionists were engaged in a plot against the Government. Some of Mr. Asquith's Liberal colleagues—it is said they were Viscount Grey, Lord Crewe, Mr. McKenna, and Mr. Runciman—saw him and vigorously objected to his adopting Lloyd George's proposals, and they even threatened to resign. The result of this interview was that Mr. Asquith reconsidered his attitude and decided to reject Lloyd George's War Council scheme. According to The London Morning Post, the Liberal Ministers thought that a good opportunity had occurred to get rid of Lloyd George altogether. At any rate, The Daily Chronicle next morning stated that rather than consent to a War Council of which he was not the effective Chairman Mr. Asquith would resign. The Westminster Gazette, a Liberal afternoon paper, which speaks with authority, confirmed this by saying that "Mr. Asquith has definitely declined the proposal." It now looked as if Mr. Asquith's intention was to let Lloyd George resign and so discover the strength of the Government he and his Unionist allies wished to dominate.

Contest of Factions

On Tuesday (Dec. 5) the two factions came to grips. There were many consultations. Mr. Asquith had interviews with the Unionist Ministers, except Bonar Law, who kept away, and with the Liberal Ministers, except Lloyd George, who remained in seclusion at the War Office. Mr. Asquith remaining decided not to adopt their proposals, Lloyd George and Bonar Law resigned, as did the other Unionist Ministers. Mr. Asquith then held a meeting of the Liberal Ministers, and with their approval tendered his resignation to the King and advised that Bonar Law be commissioned to form a new Administration.

At this stage King George took the unusual step of intervening by calling a conference of party leaders. Mr. Asquith and Lloyd George of the Liberals, Bonar Law and Mr. Balfour of the Unionists, and Mr. Henderson of the Labor Party were summoned to Buckingham Palace, where, it is said, the

King tried to arrange a reconciliation. After the conference Bonar Law saw the King alone and declined to undertake the formation of a new Ministry. The King then sent for Lloyd George, and the same night (Dec. 5) it was officially announced that he, with the co-operation of Bonar Law, had undertaken to form a new Government.

Lloyd George's task was no easy one. He had no definite party following of his own, for the Liberals were not inclined to desert Mr. Asquith. The Labor Party was hostile, while the Irish Nationalists were against every Government that was not pledged to home rule. Only the Unionists, a minority of the whole House, could be depended upon. Nevertheless, the former War Secretary set to work. Although he was unable to get Mr. Asquith's Liberal colleagues to serve under him, he secured the services of other Liberals, who, if politically not influential, represented great economic and industrial interests; and he won over the Labor Party by the offer of several Ministerial positions, including one in the War Council. Among the Unionists he had an unlimited choice.

Most Remarkable Ministry

The new British Government is the most remarkable ever called into existence, suggesting developments which at the moment are still obscure. Its outstanding feature is that it represents practically every great industrial interest in the country. This representation is so complete that labor as well as capital is given a larger and more effective voice in the affairs of the nation than has ever before been the case. Lord Rhondda, formerly D. A. Thomas, is the head of the great coal combine of South Wales. Sir Albert Stanley, who learned his business in America, is the head of the London underground railway system. Lord Devonport, who becomes Food Controller, has had a successful career as a food merchant, his firm being the well-known one of Kearley & Tonge. He has also been Chairman, since its creation, of the Port of London Authority, which governs the docks and shipping facilities of the metropolis. The newly created

position of Shipping Controller is held by Sir Joseph P. Maclay, himself an important ship owner. Rowland E. Prothero, the new President of the Board of Agriculture, is an authority on agriculture, and has been manager of the estates of the Duke of Bedford, one of the world's richest landlords.

Sir Alfred Mond is one of Britain's leading captains of industry, the head of many important enterprises. His appointment to the Cabinet is surprising, in view of his German parentage and the attacks made on him since the war. Sir Frederick Cawley and Albert Illingworth have large interests and much practical experience in the textile industries of the North of England. So unpolitical is the character of the new element in the administration that some of the Ministers are not even members of Parliament and will have to find seats if they are to remain in office. Even Bonar Law before entering politics had had a long business career as an ironmaster. The Labor Ministers, Arthur Henderson, John Hodge, who is at the head of the new Ministry of Labor, and George N. Barnes, have all been workers and are leaders in the trade union movement.

War Council of Five

The other important feature of the Lloyd George Government is the War Council of Five. He is the only Liberal in it. Three are Unionists, namely, Lord Curzon, who is Lord President of the Council and Government leader in the House of Lords; Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Government leader in the House of Commons, and Lord Milner, Minister without portfolio. The Labor member is Mr. Henderson, also Minister without portfolio. As both Lord Curzon and Bonar Law have other duties, it appears that the supreme direction of the war will be centred in the hands of the Prime Minister, with Milner and Henderson as his chief assistants.

Lord Milner's appointment is not at all unexpected. He is a great driving force. Partly German by descent and education, he showed in South Africa that he could wield an iron hand as civil dictator just as effectively as Lord Kitch-

ener did in the military sphere. An interesting change is that Mr. Balfour succeeds Viscount Grey as Foreign Secretary. This appointment, which was violently attacked by the Northcliffe press, shows that the struggle behind the scenes was not exactly that pictured by The London Times and Daily Mail. This is emphasized by the fact that Lord Robert Cecil remains Minister of Blockade, despite the demand that he, too, be sent packing with the "elder statesmen." Lord Derby, as War Secretary, and Sir Edward Carson, as First Lord of the Admiralty, are regarded as the right men to energize their departments.

For Economic Problems

The new Cabinet, apart from the Labor element, is a combination of Unionist politicians who have always advocated the economic union of the empire and captains of industry who belong to the so-called "Liberal plutocracy." It is a Cabinet that has obviously been formed to control and organize Great Britain as an industrial nation and to maintain, if not extend, the British world power in commerce. As such it is equally suitable to the needs of war or of peace. If there is to be a trade war after the war, then this is the kind of Government for the purpose.

The change that has taken place is not merely the result of a fight between rival leaders or political factions, but is due to the assertion by the great economic interests of the country of their intention to control the affairs of a nation which depends upon economic efficiency, whether it be for the purpose of waging war or to meet the extremely difficult situation which will arise as soon as the country has to readapt itself to peace conditions.

Meanwhile Mr. Asquith, having refused the Earldom which would have relegated him to the House of Lords, has taken his place with his former Liberal colleagues on the front Opposition bench in the House of Commons. At a meeting of the Liberal Party at the Reform Club on Dec. 8 he stated that, although he had resigned the Premiership, he had not given up the leadership of the Liberal Party. There had been, he added, a carefully engineered campaign against him, but he

acquitted Lloyd George and his other associates in the retiring Government of complicity therein. He emphasized the necessity of giving strong adhesion to whatever Government was in power for the purpose of bringing about what all desired—the winning of the war. The meeting decided to follow Mr. Asquith's advice, and the Liberal Opposition will content itself with friendly criticism. Nevertheless, the Liberal Party has been split, and those who oppose Lloyd George look upon him as a wrecker. But the country as a whole admires him and believes he is the right man in the right place. His advent to the Premiership was greeted everywhere with the remark, "If Lloyd George can't win the war for us, no one can."

Cabinet Changes in France

In France the recent changes were accomplished with very little public controversy. One reason for the absence of the fierce discussions that marked the British crisis was the stringent censorship, but a significant change is indicated by the adoption on Dec. 14 by the Chamber of Deputies of a motion abolishing the political censorship, while retaining the diplomatic and military censorship. The motion was accepted by the Government and passed unanimously. The agitation against Premier Briand is accordingly now able to find fuller expression. Although he has reconstructed his Cabinet and followed the British example of a small War Council, there is at this writing evidence of very great dissatisfaction, with a crisis in prospect. A sign of unrest is the diminished Government majority in the Chamber of Deputies.

At the beginning of December the Chamber of Deputies was holding a series of secret sessions. More energetic measures of civil, commercial, and industrial mobilization were being discussed. The situation in England at once quickened interest among French statesmen in the question whether the present Governmental machinery was in conformity with the exigencies of war, and also whether there should not be a reorganization of the supreme command of the

army. On Dec. 7 the Chamber, by a vote of 344 to 160, passed a resolution expressing confidence in the Government in its conduct of the war and approving the proposals to reorganize the General Staff and "to concentrate under restricted direction the conduct of the war." Next day a special meeting of the Cabinet was held and the establishment of a War Council and the economic organization of the country were considered. The semi-official note issued on Dec. 10 stated that there would be "a diminution in the number of the members of the Cabinet and the constitution of a restricted National Defense Committee, as in England." Finally, on Dec. 12, M. Aristide Briand, the Premier, announced that he had completed the reconstruction of the Cabinet. The supreme direction of the war is concentrated in a National Defense Council of Five, consisting of M. Briand, Premier and Foreign Minister; M. Alexandre Ribot, Finance Minister; General Hubert Lyautey, Minister of War; Rear Admiral Lucaze, Minister of Marine, and M. Albert Thomas, who, as Minister of Fabrication Nationale, (National Manufactures,) is also to have control of munitions and transportation. The rest of the Cabinet has been reorganized, one of the Ministers being described as that of National Subsistence and Labor. General Lyautey, the new War Minister, has been French Resident General in Morocco.

A resolution of confidence in the new Government was adopted by the Chamber of Deputies on Dec. 13, but as the voting on this occasion was 314 to 165, M. Briand's majority had in less than a week fallen from 184 to 149. M. Clémenceau says that the minority included some of the most important members of the Chamber. The first of the expected changes in the high command was made on Dec. 12, when it was announced that General Nivelle, commander of the French troops at Verdun, had been appointed Commander in Chief of the French armies of the north and northeast. This was followed next day by President Poincaré signing a decree naming "General Joffre, Commander in

Chief of the French Armies, technical counsel to the Government regarding the direction of the war." Another decree declared that the Commanders in Chief of the armies of the north and northeast and of the Orient were now to be directly responsible to the Minister of War. The effect of this decree is to bring both General Nivelle and General Sarraill, Commander of the Entente forces in Macedonia, under the control of the War Office, now presided over by General Lyautey, and make them independent of the Commander in Chief, General Joffre.

Changes in Other Countries

Austria made a record for a short-lived Government when the Ministry headed by Dr. Ernest von Koerber resigned on Dec. 13. It had only been formed on Nov. 1 after the assassination of Premier Stuerghk. Herr Alexander Spitzmueller was intrusted by Emperor Charles with the formation of a new Cabinet. The resignation of the Rumanian Premier was announced on Dec. 15; and in Portugal, according to Lisbon newspapers, a coalition Cabinet was again being considered. At this writing there is little information to explain most of the political changes in the belligerent countries, so that it is difficult to say whether they are local and personal or part of a general tendency possibly connected with coming events.

Russia's Ministerial Crisis

There were two fundamental causes for the Cabinet crisis in Russia. The forces of the war and the forces of democracy were these two causes. The significance of the downfall of Sturmer is to be found in the fact that he was known to favor a separate peace with Germany as much as in the inefficiency and incompetence of his reactionary and bureaucratic administration.

The new Premier, Alexander Feodorovitch Trepoff, and the new Foreign Minister, Nikolai Nikolaievitch Pokrovsky, are the very opposite of Boris Sturmer. Both are men of broad vision, and their vision is directed not toward the realm of politics, but toward that of economics and industrial expansion. Being economic radicals for Russia, their selection

promises a stable Government that will bring their country by the longer yet surer route to the stage of regeneration that surely awaits her in the future. It is through the slow process of economic development that a new political Russia will have been evolved.

Trepoff, like Pokrovsky, is a man of positive convictions. Both are men of action.* The program that Trepoff unfolded before a group of journalists when he became Minister of Communications in November, 1915, sounded utopian for Russia. He proposed the building of tens of thousands of miles of new railroads and hundreds of thousands of miles of canals. Ten months after this program had been laid before the newspaper men, in the course of the most critical and strenuous war in the life of humanity, Russia had made a substantial beginning toward the full realization of Trepoff's plans. An initial loan of 350,000 rubles was oversubscribed four times! This fact alone, in the present state of Russian finances, illustrates magnificently the new Premier's methods of doing things, and doing them successfully. The 3,000 miles of new railroads that have been built in Russia during 1916 are another example of Trepoff's efficiency.

Pokrovsky, the Foreign Minister, who was Controller of the Empire in Sturmer's Cabinet, is a novice in diplomacy and politics. He was assistant to the Minister of Finances in 1906, was member of the Imperial Council, and in both capacities showed himself to be a fearless advocate of economic reforms. He is very popular with the Duma, which has now acquired a controlling influence in national affairs. His speech in the Russian Parliament, made on Dec. 15 with the approval of the Czar, in which he rejected in the name of the Government the German peace offer, shows him to be the kind of Foreign Minister that public opinion in Russia demanded. He is straightforward, sincere, candid. Incidentally, the appointment of Pokrovsky means the renewal in the near future of the commercial treaty between Russia and the United States, on the latter's conditions.

[FINANCIAL]

War Finances in Europe

Some Aspects of the Present and Future Situation

[Written for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by an Official of a Leading American International Banking House.]

THE financial aspects of the great European war are of vital interest to the people of the United States. Vast and complex as they are, we are beginning to realize that we must master some of the principles involved if we are to look the future in the face, for although the whole world is involved in a financial sense, no neutral power is so directly interested as we, and as yet no economist has arisen with sufficient imagination or power of prophecy to glimpse the possibilities of its ultimate results upon the future of this country.

During the last two years the war has created developments in the world of finance which have astonished students of economics. Who would have ventured to prophesy, for instance, three years ago that any event or series of events would shift the financial centre of the world from London to New York, even temporarily? Who would have dreamed that our bankers could, almost within the period mentioned, loan to foreign Governments such a sum as, approximately, two billions of dollars!

Such sums are staggering in their proportions and tend to bewilder the average mind. The first question which presents itself to the casual thinker is, where does all this money come from? He is apt to remember that about this time every year there used to be quite a scramble for funds to move the crops of the West, as well as to take care of the other normal requirements of business and speculation. This year and last the movement of the crops was financed as usual, business is going ahead at a prodigious rate, speculation is rife on the Exchanges, and yet we are lending our billions to foreign Governments. And to cap the climax the business man finds his banker grumbling because he cannot lend money at a rate sufficiently

profitable to suit him. As this article is written rates of interest show a stiffening tendency, the money market having (early in December) passed through something resembling a flurry. The untold resources of our new Federal Reserve banking system, however, are almost untried as yet. For the first time in years money is as cheap throughout the West at this season of the year as it is in the East. The various foreign loans have been absorbed with ease by the investing public and financial institutions and their prices have been maintained on the Exchanges in spite of adverse factors.

Can Europe Pay Its Debts?

This raises some very interesting questions, well worthy of attempted explanation. For the present, let us inquire more directly into the position of the belligerent Governments from a financial point of view. As indicated above, we are directly interested in the vital point at issue, how is Europe's war bill to be paid? We have loaned vast sums of money to the belligerents, and we have given them credit for millions of dollars' worth of goods of every kind. To put the matter into blunt words, the bottom must fall completely out of our present vaunted prosperity unless Europe can pay it. It is therefore perfectly right and proper that we should inquire into the credit position of those of the belligerents with which we are concerned, just as the credit manager of a mercantile house looks up the resources of a customer whose account is growing into large proportions.

It has been estimated that by Aug. 1, 1917, or at the end of the third year of the war, it will have cost the belligerent nations considerably over \$75,000,000,000. Roughly speaking, Germany's share, or, rather, that of the Central Alliance, is

DR. VON KOERBER, AUSTRIAN PREMIER



Dr. Ernst von Koerber, Former Finance Minister, Was Made
Premier of Austria-Hungary After the Assassination
of Count Stuerghh.

(Press Illustrating Service.)

GERMAN GENERALS WHOSE ARMIES HAVE CONQUERED RUMANIA



Field Marshal von Mackensen.
(Photo © F. O. Koch.)



General Eric von Falkenhayn.
(Photo © F. O. Koch.)

about one-third of this total. It is also estimated that the present daily cost of the war to the Entente Allies is \$105,000,000, Great Britain's share being \$25,000,000, that of France \$18,000,000, and of Russia \$16,000,000. The balance is divided among Italy and the lesser powers.

Here is a table showing the approximate public debt of the principal belligerents before the war and their estimated debts at this time. For the sake of simplicity the figures are given in round millions:

Public Debts of the Belligerent Nations

| | Aug. 1, 1914. (Approximated.) | Present. (Estimated.) |
|-----------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| United Kingdom. | \$3,485,000,000 | †\$18,000,000,000 |
| France | 6,607,000,000 | *18,500,000,000 |
| Russia | 4,537,000,000 | 13,000,000,000 |
| Italy | 2,836,000,000 | 4,600,000,000 |
| | \$17,465,000,000 | \$54,100,000,000 |
| Germany | \$5,198,000,000 | \$12,000,000,000 |
| Austria-Hung'y. | 3,970,000,000 | 4,230,000,000 |
| Turkey | 640,000,000 | 360,000,000 |
| | \$9,808,000,000 | \$16,590,000,000 |

*Includes advances from the Bank of France. †On Dec. 13 Chancellor Law asked Parliament for a new war credit of \$2,000,000,000.

From the above table it will be seen that, even should the war end immediately, the belligerent nations of Europe must pay interest on a combined public debt of something like seventy billions of dollars. It is futile to estimate what this total may grow to before the war actually does come to an end, but some statisticians, taking Aug. 1, 1917, as an arbitrary date upon which to base their calculations, have placed the figure at \$86,500,000,000.

Debt Too Vast to Comprehend

These figures are so vast that one finds it difficult to comprehend their meaning. Such a sum, for instance, would be more than twice the estimated value of all the farm lands in the United States. It would be more than three times the total outstanding capital of all the railroads in the United States, and over seventy-five times the capital of all the national banks in the United States. The United States Steel Corporation, the largest corporation in the world, with its

\$1,300,000,000 of capital, loses much of its impressiveness when mentioned in connection with such a sum.

At this writing the direct loans made in this country to Great Britain total above \$1,100,000,000, which, of course, includes Great Britain's half share of the Anglo-French loan of \$500,000,000. This, it must be remembered, is an external debt, and therefore it takes precedence of all internal borrowings, not only in a legal or diplomatic sense, but also from the point of view of the economist.

The external indebtedness of a nation differs from its internal indebtedness in the same manner as the debts of an individual in his own household differ from those which he has contracted among comparative strangers. If you owe a sum of money to a member of your own household the chances are the indebtedness does not rest very heavily upon you. In all probability your creditor will not push you for payment, or is likely to incur some obligation to you in the future which will square the account.

To carry the simile a little further, suppose this member of your household should charge you a rather high rate of interest on the debt. In such a case, in order to help us with the comparison, let us suppose that you are in a position to increase the rent of your creditor, and thus prevent his interest charges from running up to unwieldy proportions. The comparison is far-fetched, perhaps, but it illustrates, to some extent, the position of a nation which has a large indebtedness among its own people. If it must pay out vast sums in interest charges it must necessarily increase its taxation proportionately. Of course the holders of its bonds and therefore the recipients of its interest are not literally the same people as those which will be taxed to meet the interest charges, but although the money is collected and paid out by the Government, it does not go out of the country. It is kept in circulation by a sort of endless chain, a far heavier chain perhaps in war times than normally, and one requiring much more skillful handling by financiers than the ordinary chain of peace times.

So much for the internal loans of a Government. It is only by the process of some such homely simile that we can conceive of the ability of any Government to pay interest on its war debts, even those of previous wars, which will be far eclipsed by the war debts incurred during the present one.

War Bonds in America

Now, the external debt is a different matter. The nation which incurs one knows that no sentiment enters into it. It is like a note discounted at the bank; it must be met at maturity. Moreover, unless the debtor nation can sell sufficient goods to the creditor nation to create a trade balance in its favor, it must meet its obligations in cash, which means gold. Not to do so would mean national dishonor, loss of credit, and most likely war.

In a sense, however, and this point seems to me to be an important one, a large proportion of Europe's borrowings in this country are not, strictly speaking, external debts. In the case of the United Kingdom, for instance, the only real external debt is Britain's share of the Anglo-French loan, \$250,000,000. Her other loans are on collateral borrowed from her own people. If I borrow a thousand-dollar bond from you to use as collateral for a loan of eight hundred dollars at my bank, I am technically the debtor of the bank, but my real debt is to you. Similarly, the British Government's real creditors, in the matter of its secured notes, are those who have loaned their stocks and bonds for collateral. As a matter of fact the owners thereof hold the obligations of the British Government, which is obligated to pay interest in addition to that which accrues to the various securities. In the sense that American bankers may demand payment of the United Kingdom notes when they mature, they constitute an external obligation, but viewing the owners of the collateral upon which they are based as the real lenders to the Government, they are internal.

Great Britain's Total Debt

Apart from certain so-called contingent liabilities which need hardly be considered here, the total debt of the British

Government on March 31, 1914, which is the end of the British fiscal year, stood at £707,654,101, or \$3,500,000,000. During the first two years of the war the United Kingdom alone, without taking British colonies into account, borrowed for war purposes about \$12,000,000,000. By August 1, 1917, the public debt of Great Britain will in all probability have progressed to approximately twenty billions of dollars. Obligations contracted by the entire British Empire, which includes Canadian, Australian, and Indian loans placed since the war began, are rapidly reaching the imposing total of fifteen billions.

It is obvious that the cost of this gigantic struggle is going to superimpose enormous sums to the present normal national indebtedness of the belligerent powers. But it must not be supposed that the entire cost of the war will be financed by increasing the national debts. - England, especially, is making every endeavor to "pay as she goes." Taxation is meeting a very large proportion of the cost of the war, the income tax alone ranging from about 1 per cent. on small incomes to 41½ per cent. on large ones. Besides this there are various taxes on business profits, corporations, &c., and especially the tax on munitions profits, which must, in the end, prove very remunerative.

Shifting Burden to the Rich

Viewing the entire matter from a somewhat academic position, it is well worthy of note that as civilization has progressed a very perceptible shifting has taken place as regards the burden of warring. It is quite evident from the study of ancient history, and even of feudal history, that the cost of war in earlier days fell almost entirely upon the people of the lower social strata. They paid not only in blood but in money or its equivalent, while the higher classes waxed wealthier as wars were waged. It is not saying too much to declare that these conditions are directly reversed today.

The present struggle is not only costing the upper classes of Europe dearly in blood but the cost of the war is falling

far more heavily upon these classes than it is upon the people. For at least a decade previous to the war the whole trend of British taxation has been in favor of the people, and this tendency has been greatly emphasized since the war. This is in accordance with the modern spirit. European democracy is willing to fight, but it will not pay. European aristocracy must not only fight but it must pay as well.

It would appear that the burden of future taxation in Great Britain is bound to fall upon the wealthier classes. Under Lloyd George and his associates the wealthy had been taught that it is its duty and privilege to obey the rhythmic injunction of Mr. Kipling and "Pay! Pay! Pay!" During the present conflict no murmur of dissent has reached these shores at least, and in the present wave of patriotism, engendered by the national crisis, it is scarcely conceivable that any wealthy Englishman would venture to complain when nearly 50 per cent. of his income is demanded of him in taxes, while his brothers are yielding their life blood in the trenches.

The enormous expenditures of a country at war may be rather aptly compared to the losses of a group of friends who "sit in" to a friendly game of poker with each other one night a week all the year round. If all their losses at these friendly games were added up, the result would be rather terrifying to people of moderate means, but such a compilation is rarely made. Moreover, the half dozen friends who play poker with each other weekly usually end the year without serious financial catastrophes on the part of any of them, and the secret is that they play with each other regularly. The money which A wins from B and C one night will, in all probability, find its way back to B and C a week later; and so it goes. The chief winner of the season, perhaps, gives a dinner to his friends, and thus equalizes matters. No one is very much better off for the season's playing, and no one very much worse.

The Losses Not Net

So it is, to a certain extent, in the case of a country at war. Certain lines of industry must suffer, it is true, to

such an extent that they may never recover. Certain classes of people must lose financially that other classes may gain. But all the vast sums which are being reckoned on as the cost of war are by no means total losses. Much of the money so spent goes back to the people. England, be it remembered, has had her "war brides" and her war-time prosperity. We are apt to picture England in our mind's eye as making war so vigorously that she has no time for anything else. It is exceedingly interesting, therefore, to study the comparison of Great Britain's imports and exports for the first nine months of 1915 and 1916, respectively. These figures are culled from *The London Economist* of Oct. 14, 1916, and they do not, of course, include importations of war materials for the use of British armies in the field. It should be noted also that the figures given are in pounds sterling, and not in dollars.

NINE MONTHS ENDED SEPT. 30.

| | 1915. | 1916. | Inc. or Dec. P.C. |
|------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|
| Imports. | £643,812,337 | £704,044,617 | +£60,232,280 9.3 |
| Exports.. | 283,091,686 | 379,328,938 | +96,237,252 22.9 |
| Re-exp'ts. | 75,619,886 | 76,865,079 | +1,255,193 1.6 |

Import

balance. £285,100,765 £247,840,600 —£37,260,165 13.0

It is natural that we should consider the financial future of the United Kingdom as the key to the situation so far as the other two great powers of the Entente are concerned. As regards France, there is an undercurrent of confidence as well, based on the known frugality of the French people, the strength of the French banking system, and the remarkable achievements of that nation in discharging the enormous burdens imposed upon it by the Franco-German war.

The Finances of France

The Bank of France, founded by Napoleon in 1800, has long been regarded by financial students as the model national banking institution. It is, like the Bank of England, privately owned, though differing somewhat from the English bank in its relations with the State.

During the Franco-Prussian war the bank advanced to the State about \$300,000,000. This necessitated an increase in its note issues of some 1,300,000,000 francs. By 1879 the advances of the

bank had all been repaid, having been funded by the sale of French Government securities.

The manner in which the enormous burdens of the war of 1870, to which must be added the staggering war indemnities imposed by Germany, were met, will always serve to inspire confidence in the financial resources of the French people. The increase which followed in the public debt of France was about eighteen billion francs, bringing it up to about thirty-one billions. On Aug. 1, 1914, the public debt of France was 32,787,000,000 francs.

As in the case of the Franco-Prussian war, the war expenditures of the French Government have been met primarily through advances from the Bank of France. In both cases the bank was authorized to increase its note circulation.

That French industry and commerce is regaining rapidly any ground which it may have lost in the midst of its time of trial may be seen from the following report of its imports and exports for nine months to Sept. 1, 1916, which parallels the table of British imports and exports quoted above:

FOREIGN COMMERCE OF FRANCE DURING THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF 1916

(From L'Economiste Français, Oct. 21, 1916.)

IMPORTS

| | First Nine Months, 1916. Francs. | First Nine Months, 1915. Francs. | Difference in 1916. Francs. |
|--------------------------------|--|--|-----------------------------------|
| Articles of food | 2,152,793,000 | 1,793,735,000 | +359,058,000 |
| Material needed for manuf't'e. | 2,987,613,000 | 2,280,538,000 | +707,075,000 |
| Manufact'd articles .. | 2,241,002,000 | 1,733,118,000 | +507,884,000 |
| Total..... | 7,381,408,000 | 5,807,391,000 | +1,574,017,000 |

EXPORTS

| | First Nine Months, 1916. Francs. | First Nine Months, 1915. Francs. | Difference in 1916. Francs. |
|--------------------------------|--|--|-----------------------------------|
| Articles of food | 311,772,000 | 405,400,000 | - 93,628,000 |
| Material needed for manuf't'e. | 505,881,000 | 470,032,000 | + 35,849,000 |
| Manufact'd articles .. | 1,519,438,000 | 1,184,171,000 | +335,267,000 |
| Parcel post. | 178,972,000 | 119,828,000 | + 59,144,000 |
| Total..... | 2,516,063,000 | 2,179,431,000 | +336,632,000 |

Of which 6,640 francs were for parcel post containing silk fabric and silk floss. The corresponding figure for 1915 was 4,884,000 francs.

The Situation of Russia

Russia presents to us the greatest mystery of all the warring powers because we know so little of her normal methods of financiering. We know, of course, that, unlike either Great Britain or France, she has been unable to continue her normal export business, and that, consequently, the trade balances have been heavily against her during the last two years. In normal times her excess of exports greatly exceeds her imports. In 1912, for instance, this excess was over \$179,000,000. In 1913, it was over \$75,000,000. In 1915 the balance against her was over \$369,000,000, and for the first eight months of 1916 it was more than \$520,000,000. But Russia's resources are great. With an estimated population of 174,099,600; with an area of 8,417,115 square miles; an estimated national wealth of between fifty and sixty billions, and annual production approximating \$7,725,000,000; with its vast areas of uncut forests; with its agricultural resources, as yet scarcely developed to a fraction of their possibilities—it would seem that the Russian Empire can face the future with confidence, even though confronted with the payment of interest on an abnormal public debt.

The estimated present debt of the empire is about one and two-thirds the normal annual production, and the amount per capita equals about \$75, which is small when compared with the per capita debt which the other great powers will have to face.

Russia has made two loans of \$50,000,000 each in the United States, and large advances have been made to her by both the British and French Governments and by bankers of both of those powers. Only a small proportion of her war debt has been funded as yet, the expenses of the war being met by advances from the Bank of Russia, Treasury bills, and the loans mentioned above. Some idea of the tremendous resources of Russia may be gained from the following figures, which show the revenue and expenditure of the Government, not including the extraordinary expenditures of war, for the last four years, together with the esti-

mates for 1917. The figures for 1915 are partly estimated, and those for 1916 and, of course, 1917, are entirely estimated:

RUSSIAN ORDINARY REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE

| | Revenue. | Expenditure. |
|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1913, actual..... | \$1,759,940,000 | \$1,593,538,000 |
| 1914, actual..... | 1,492,470,000 | 1,507,405,000 |
| 1915, preliminary.. | 1,455,905,000 | 1,580,020,000 |
| 1916, estimate..... | 1,561,480,000 | 1,692,805,000 |
| 1917, estimate..... | 2,058,970,000 | 1,923,010,000 |

Russia's achievement in doing away with the vodka evil, which was a State monopoly, yielding in 1913 38 per cent. of the total ordinary revenue, excited the admiration of the world. Its financial results are observed in the increase in the deposits in the savings banks, those of the State Savings Banks alone having increased nearly \$775,000,000 from the outbreak of the war up to the middle of last August, while some \$558,000,000 worth of securities were placed with these banks for safekeeping during the same period. There has been, in consequence, a large increase in direct taxation. It is estimated that the return to the Government in this form of revenue will be about double in 1917 what it was before the war.

Germany's Position

The financial position of Germany in the great struggle is unique. There are not lacking those who maintain that it is stronger than that of the Entente Allies, because she has not been able to spend any money beyond her own borders except with her own allies. Her adherents claim that when the war is over Germany, having practically no external debt, will be in much better case than her enemies. Her debt will be entirely to her own people, and she can repudiate or not, as she sees fit.

Her borrowings since the beginning of the war have totaled some \$13,000,000,000, which, added to her pre-war debt of \$5,200,000,000, makes her present indebtedness some \$18,200,000,000.

Germany's achievement in maintaining her reserves of gold is not less notable than that of her enemies, but it is far less impressive because she has been able to do little else than store it up. As in

the case of the other great European banks, the Reichsbank has been permitted to issue notes without reference to its gold reserves, and these notes have been accepted freely by the people. At the close of the war Germany's gold reserves will doubtless be of great value to her in restoring her national credit and re-establishing normal rates of exchange, but it has availed her little during the struggle. On the other hand, Great Britain, acting as the financial leader for the Allies, has not only maintained astonishing reserves of the yellow metal, but has helped to pay her way with this, the only form in which money has any real currency between nations. Since Aug. 1, 1914, she and her allies have shipped to this country about \$1,100,000,000 in gold, either direct or through Canada.

Without dwelling on the financial fate of Austria-Hungary, which will, of course, depend upon that of her great ally, or upon that of Turkey, which is not of such vital interest to American readers, it is interesting, while we are still considering the subject of gold, to study the following table from *The Commercial and Financial Chronicle* of Dec. 9, 1916, showing the increase in the gold holdings of the principal European banks during the past year:

| | DEC. 7, 1916 | | |
|------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| | Gold. | Silver. | Total. |
| England | £55,942,730 | | £55,942,730 |
| *France | 146,683,487 | £12,440,360 | 159,123,847 |
| Germany | 125,924,350 | 821,805 | 126,746,155 |
| †Russia | 155,880,000 | 10,202,000 | 166,082,000 |
| ‡Austria-Hung'y | 51,578,000 | 12,140,000 | 63,718,000 |
| Spain | 48,050,000 | 29,846,000 | 77,896,000 |
| Italy | 36,647,000 | 2,908,000 | 39,555,000 |
| Netherlands | 48,716,000 | 560,400 | 49,276,400 |
| §Nat. Belgium.. | 15,380,000 | 600,000 | 15,980,000 |
| Switzerland | 12,342,900 | | 12,342,900 |
| Sweden | 10,131,000 | | 10,131,000 |
| Denmark | 8,340,000 | 168,000 | 8,508,000 |
| Norway | 6,069,000 | | 6,069,000 |

| | | | |
|----------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| Total week.... | £721,684,467 | £69,686,565 | £791,371,032 |
| Previous week. | 724,893,662 | 70,864,420 | 795,758,082 |

| | DEC. 9, 1915 | | |
|------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| | Gold. | Silver. | Total. |
| England | £50,272,748 | | £50,272,748 |
| *France | 197,601,000 | £14,260,000 | 211,861,000 |
| Germany | 121,809,850 | 1,796,050 | 123,605,900 |
| †Russia | 160,518,000 | 2,855,000 | 163,373,000 |
| ‡Austria-Hung'y. | 51,578,000 | 12,140,000 | 63,718,000 |
| Spain | 33,738,000 | 30,114,000 | 63,852,000 |
| Italy | 45,251,000 | 4,427,000 | 49,678,000 |
| Netherlands | 34,756,000 | 291,200 | 35,047,200 |
| §Nat. Belgium.. | 15,380,000 | 600,000 | 15,980,000 |
| Switzerland | 9,902,300 | | 9,902,300 |

| | Gold. | Silver. | Total. |
|---------------|-----------|---------|-----------|
| Sweden | 6,298,000 | | 6,298,000 |
| Denmark | 5,917,000 | 247,000 | 6,164,000 |
| Norway | 3,753,000 | | 3,753,000 |

Total week....£736,774,898 £66,730,250 £803,505,148
Previous week. 734,665,069 66,219,060 800,884,129

*Gold holdings of the Bank of France this year are exclusive of £55,407,438 held abroad.

†The gold holdings of the Bank of Russia for both years in the above statement have been revised by eliminating the so-called gold balance held abroad.

‡July 30, 1914, in both years.

§Aug. 6, 1914, in both years.

From the early days of 1914, when the determined efforts of the great European banks to build up their gold reserves caused constant drains upon our supply of the yellow metal—a signal which should have warned us of the trouble to come—the gold accumulations in the European banks have been astonishing in their proportions.

Few doubt the ability of Germany to meet her obligations after the war. An empire and a people with such vast resources as hers, a Government which has been enabled to maintain such an expensive war military establishment as

Germany has built up within the last twenty years, should not find it more difficult than any other European power to meet its interest charges and the other obligations caused by the war, especially if the terms of peace should provide for disarmament in any degree.

Nothing has been said in this article about indemnities, because, as the war progresses, one hears very little conjecture of any kind about them, and it is the opinion of most well-informed men that there will be no war indemnities.

This, however, belongs to the field of pure conjecture, as do, indeed, not a few of the points touched upon in this brief and of necessity sketchy outline of certain phases of war finances. The subject is a tremendous one, but the time is not yet come when any writer can speak with decision, or even precision, regarding most of its angles.

NOTE.—The word billion is used in this article in the sense which obtains in the United States, one thousand millions, and not in the English sense, which is one million millions.

Aspects of War Finance

THE New York Stock Exchange was reopened to restricted trading Dec. 12, 1914, after having been closed for four months, but was not entirely free until some weeks later. A glance at the changes in the prices of stocks in the two years that have intervened reveals the profound effect of the war on certain industries. In some cases the advances have been justified by the increased profits, but with others the advance has been sentimental.

A few of the more active stocks which were traded in two years ago, and which have shared in the advance since then, are shown below, with their last prices, fractions being dropped from both sides:

| | Dec. 12, 1914. | Dec. 9, 1916. |
|-----------------------------|----------------|---------------|
| Allis-Chalmers | 8 | 34 |
| Allis-Chalmers pf..... | 34 | 90 |
| American Beet Sugar..... | 30 | 105 |
| American Can..... | 25 | 62 |
| American Car & Foundry..... | 43 | 76 |
| American Smelting..... | 56 | 114 |
| American Sugar..... | 104 | 115 |
| Bethlehem | 42 | 644 |

| | Dec. 12, 1914. | Dec. 9, 1916. |
|-----------------------------|----------------|---------------|
| Central Leather..... | 35 | 110 |
| Distillers | 14 | 43 |
| Erie | 22 | 37 |
| General Motors..... | 86 | 750 |
| Inspiration Copper..... | 16 | 68 |
| International Paper..... | 8 | 64 |
| Marine | 1 | 47 |
| Ray Consolidated..... | 16 | 32 |
| Utah Copper..... | 48 | 122 |
| U. S. Steel, (Dec. 19)..... | 50 | 123 |

Large profits have been made by ordnance works; on Dec. 12 the E. W. Bliss Company announced an extra dividend of 100 per cent., making 300 per cent. in 1916, in addition to the regular dividend. This excessive profit, however, is unusual even for war stocks. Industrials that paid no dividends have been put on a 5 or 6 per cent. dividend basis; the metal stocks have increased their dividends to 6, 8, and 10 per cent.; the International Mercantile Marine, which is in a receiver's hands, is said to have earned over 80 per cent. on its stock in the last year, and the powder companies

are supposed to have earned fabulous sums, the estimates ranging from 250 to 500 per cent. The United States Steel Corporation is supposed to be earning about 20 per cent.

Wages have been increased from 5 to 15 per cent., and salaries from 10 to 20 per cent. by many of the larger corporations. The United States Steel Corporation made three increases in wages in 1916, aggregating 33 1-3 per cent., and extending to more than 250,000 workmen.

The German peace overtures created a semi-panic in the market on Dec. 12, 14, and 15, prices declining in the three days from 5 to 50 points; but on the 16th the action of Russia in rejecting the overtures caused a substantial recovery.

* * *

THE report of the Treasury of the United States for the year ended June 30, 1916, discloses that the total Government holdings in gold amounted at that date to \$1,803,493,932.83, an increase during the fiscal year of over \$400,000,000, and a circulation increase of

\$454,000,000 over the preceding year. This makes the per capita circulation \$39.28 and the gold percentage 50.97, being the firmest gold basis known in the history of this or any other country. The cash surplus of receipts for expenses for the year were somewhat in excess of \$55,000,000.

* * *

THE United States in the year ended Nov. 1, 1916, held in gold coin and bullion \$2,700,136,976, an increase of \$714,597,804 in sixteen months. This is the largest amount of gold held by the United States or any other country in history. The national banks held on Sept. 12, 1916, in deposits \$11,362,341,000.

* * *

THE second French national defense loan was subscribed up to 11,360,000,000 francs, (over two billion dollars,) of which 54½ per cent. is new cash, as against 47 per cent. in the preceding loan. Sixty-six per cent. of the fresh money came from the provinces, and included many millions in gold coin from the little private hoards of the peasants.

Great Britain Spending \$28,000,000 a Day

THE British House of Commons on Dec. 14 took measures to raise 1,000,000 more men of all ranks for the army service during the present fiscal year, making a total of 5,000,000 men for the war. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Bonar Law, moved a new war credit of \$2,000,000,000, in discussing which he said:

We cannot continue at the present figure indefinitely. All we can hope for is that we can keep at that figure long enough to beat our enemies, and I believe we can go on long enough to make sure that it will not be from financial causes if we fail to secure victory.

Following debate the vote of credit was adopted unanimously. It is the fourteenth since the outbreak of the war, and brings up the total thus far for the present financial year to £1,750,000,000, (\$8,750,000,000.)

In his discussion of the matter of finances, Bonar Law stated that the total expenditure of Great Britain since the

outbreak of the war was £3,852,000,000, (\$19,260,000,000.) This total included expenditures of £1,650,000,000 over and above the votes of credit. The Chancellor commented on the total he mentioned:

That figure taxes the imagination. It is a colossal figure, but I do not think it is an appalling figure.

The daily average expenditure of Great Britain in the war, he went on, had risen to £5,710,000, (\$28,550,000.) Assuming that the rate of expenditure would continue as at present, the vote would carry them until Feb. 24. An additional £200,000,000 would be required from that date to last until the end of the fiscal year. This would bring the total votes for the year to £1,950,000,000, or £350,000,000 in excess of the estimate made some months ago by the former Chancellor, Reginald McKenna.

The reason for this excess of expenditure, Bonar Law said, was the great increase in the munitions output and the

additional loans to Great Britain's allies and to her dominions.

As to the increase in munitions, the Chancellor said that if he could give the figures of June, 1915, and those of today the difference would seem almost incredible. Considering the nature of this country and how entirely its energies had been devoted to peace, he went on, it was marvelous to consider how she had been organized for war. No more striking proof of the vitality of the country, from an industrial point of view, was found than in the extent by which the output of munitions had increased during the year.

Referring to the increase in loans, the Chancellor said it would be gratifying to the House to know that it had gone largely to Great Britain's allies, the dominions having been able to finance their expenditures. These advances were just as much war expenditure, he said, as the amount expended on the British troops. These loans were now amounting to \$2,000,000 daily.

In the course of his speech he said:

Two great advantages are possessed by the Germans. One is their preparedness for war.

They have today another advantage—that is, that circumstances have so fallen out that the control of all the resources of our enemies is practically in one hand. One of the drawbacks of our alliance, as of every alliance, is that it is very difficult to get this central control. To secure it has been the object not only of this Government but of the Governments of our allies, and a great deal has been done in this direction during the last year, and particularly during the last six months.

In my belief, success in this war and the rapidity with which we can bring it to a victorious conclusion must depend upon the extent upon which the resources of the Allies in men, money, and munitions can be pooled and thrown into the common cause.

Reginald McKenna congratulated former Chancellor Bonar Law on his speech, thus showing the entente cordiale between the old and the new Governments. He continued:

We are bound to supply munitions to the full extent of our capacity, and we are bound likewise to meet all the demands of our allies, so far as we are able. The extent of our ability to meet those demands is enormous, but there is one restriction, namely, that it will not be easy to convert sterling wealth into dollars wealth. We must pay in dollars for what we buy now, not only in America, but all over the world, and that is the limit of our power to help the Allies.

Greece and the Entente Ultimatum

A Month of Swift Events

THE relation of Greece to the European war has undergone kaleidoscopic changes in the last month or two, at times taking on the aspect of actual war against the Entente Allies, at other times seeming to promise civil war; the situation was clarified to some extent, however, when the stern demands of the Allies, supplemented by a complete blockade of Greek ports, were submitted to by King Constantine and his Government on Nov. 15. By this action the King has saved his throne, at least for the present.

Events moved swiftly in late November. The diplomatic representatives of the Central Powers were ordered by the Entente to leave Greece, and they departed under protest on Nov. 21. On the 24th the Allies delivered an ultimatum

to the Greek Government, demanding that it hand over the rifles and guns belonging to the Greek Army, the first delivery to consist of ten batteries of mountain guns by Dec. 1.

Athens seethed with excitement. The Government let it be understood that it would refuse the demands for the surrender of arms and munitions, and on Nov. 28 the Crown Council voted to support the Government in this position. On the 29th war vessels of the Allies loaded with troops arrived at Piraeus and moored alongside the quay. On Dec. 1 the King publicly rejected the Allies' demand and resumed control of Post Offices and telegraph lines in Athens. The same day Admiral du Fournet, the French commander of the allied fleet in the Mediterranean, landed French, Eng-

lish, and Italian detachments. At the same time two regiments of Greek troops of the Athens garrison, with their artillery, moved from the city. The official explanation was that this step was taken to prevent a possible conflict with the allied troops that had been landed; but it was believed by the Allies that the real reason was to move the war munitions out of Admiral du Fournet's reach. Bands of reservists paraded the streets and the city was in a state of greatest excitement. Numerous clashes occurred, and the King finally yielded on the evening of Dec. 1 and delivered six mountain batteries instead of ten. The allied troops at once withdrew from the city, leaving a guard of 300 men at an industrial exhibition building known as the Zappeion.

In the clashes which preceded this there were some bloody affrays, and it was stated that several hundred were wounded. The allied troops were fired on from windows and roofs, and it was stated that a number were killed. The casualties were estimated at 200. It was openly charged that the Greeks began the firing and were guilty of treachery.

On Dec. 7 the Allies blockaded the Port of Athens and placed an embargo on all Greek shipping.

After the fighting on the 1st, just before the establishment of the blockade, affairs grew quieter. Meanwhile the Allies procured documentary proof that the Greek authorities had been carrying on an intrigue with the Germans. The Greek police found correspondence between Deputy Kallimasiotis of Piraeus and the German Legation at Athens—also the Austrian authorities in Vienna—giving details of the supplying of German submarines in 1915 and 1916, with other incriminating evidence. Moreover, after the blockade was established it was ascertained that the Royalists were in wireless communication with the Germans and Turks, and German authorities made public requests to the King to hold out for a while until the German troops could advance against Saloniki and come to his relief.

The blockade was published in an official decree on Dec. 6. On the same

day the Russian, Italian, French, and British Ministers called in a body at the Foreign Office and demanded an explanation of the Greek military activity. The answer, while professing neutrality and alleging that the object was solely to preserve order, was unsatisfactory to the Allies. On the 11th the British Foreign Office let it be known that the Entente Ministers would present an ultimatum to the Greek King, which would require complete demobilization of the army, restoration of control by the Entente over the posts, telegraphs, and railways, and the release of the Venizelists who had been imprisoned during the preceding disturbances.

This ultimatum was formally presented on Dec. 14 and expired at 3 o'clock on the 15th. The Allies had come to the conclusion that if King Constantine was not conspiring with their enemies, he at least had not sufficient authority over his armies to prevent their becoming a menace to the peace and security of the allied armies in Macedonia. Their note, therefore, had ordered the removal of troops and munitions, as specified in an accompanying list, these removals to begin within twenty-four hours; likewise they had demanded the immediate stoppage of all movements of troops and war materials toward the north. The ultimatum ended with an express declaration that failure to comply would be followed immediately by war.

King Constantine thus found himself compelled to choose between peace and war. He and his Government decided for peace, and it was announced on the 15th that the acceptance of the ultimatum had been ratified at a meeting of the Grecian Cabinet and Crown Council, at which King Constantine presided. This restored the status quo prior to the advance of the allied troops from Saloniki, and it is believed will remove further danger of a flank or rear attack by the Greeks upon Sarraïl's army.

The tenuous hold of the Greek dynasty on the people at large has not been improved by the march of events, and in different parts of the kingdom the people in mass meetings have renounced allegiance to King Constantine and de-

clared for the Venizelos Provisional Government.

The so-called Provisional Government of Greece, formed in Crete on Sept. 26 by ex-Premier Venizelos and his supporters, and operating now from headquarters at Saloniki, declared war against Germany and Bulgaria on Nov. 25. On the same day M. Venizelos issued an address in which he said:

In fighting this fight we wish to wipe out the stain which has been placed upon the Greek Nation by the disregard of our treaty obligations to Serbia; we wish to play our part in the freeing of our territories invaded by the Bulgarians; we wish to emphasize in a tangible and concrete manner our absolute conviction that Greece can never progress, nor even exist, as a free and independent State, except by continued maintenance of the closest contact with those powers who have supported her on every occasion; who rule the Mediterranean, and who at this very moment are fighting for the liberty of Europe and for the right of every small nation to live in freedom and independence.

M. Venizelos reaffirmed his allegiance to the King, strongly disclaiming that the movement was anti-dynastic, and continued:

As soon, however, as the war is terminated, and after we have insured, as far as possible, the safeguarding of our country's national interests and raised Greece from the position into which she has been assigned by the violation of the Greco-Serbian treaty, then we will see what guarantees can be obtained for the future against the possibility of a certain limited number of persons around the King imposing upon the Crown opinions which are in direct contradiction to the will of the people, and forcing upon the people against their will a policy calculated to drive our country to national suicide.

The conflict to which I have referred can only be thoroughly and efficiently settled in one way, and that is by the free verdict of the people. We shall ask to be assured of

this freedom in a practical manner, and we are convinced that the allied powers will assist us to this end. * * * Nothing but the re-establishment of the constitutional régime, which has been violated, and the restitution to the people of the right to decide their own destinies can offer any guarantee that Greece will continue in the future to maintain close and cordial relations with the powers of the Entente. Whereas, on the other hand, the maintenance of absolutist rule, from which we have been suffering for the last twenty months, would facilitate Greece's departure from her natural path, and would render possible a rapprochement between her and the Central Empires.

Such is the objective of the struggle we have undertaken.

We wish to fight for our national interests side by side with our natural and traditional friends.

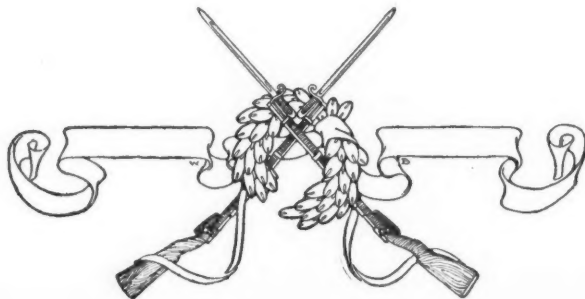
We wish to make good, as far as we can, the harm that we did to heroic Serbia by the non-fulfillment of our engagements.

We wish finally to insure in the future the right to be a free people, the masters of our own destinies.

In a word, we are struggling for precisely those principles, for the triumph of which over Prussian militarism the allied powers are waging their great war.

In these circumstances we feel that the great powers who have done so much for Greece in the past will appreciate the position in which Greece finds herself today, and we are confident in our hope that the powers, appreciating likewise the goal that we are striving to attain, will grant us that material and moral support of which we are in need to enable us to bring our struggle to a successful conclusion.

A warrant was issued at Athens on Dec. 18 for the arrest of M. Venizelos on charges of high treason. He is at the front fighting the Bulgarians. Admiral du Fournet has been superseded by Admiral Gauchet as commander of the allied fleets in Greek waters. The situation continues to be complicated and full of unknown elements.



Belgium and Greece

By Charles Johnston

GERMANY has led her troops into Belgium, and is exercising certain powers there; the Entente Allies have introduced their troops into Greece, and are exercising certain powers there. Are the two cases identical, in law and in their ethical relation? We can only solve the question by solving the legal status of the two nations, Belgium and Greece.

I.

There are close relations between the two nations. Belgium and Greece, as modern nations, were founded at the same time and very much in the same way. Neither owes its sovereignty and international status to a national revolution, though this was, in both, a co-operating cause. Both owe their status to treaties signed, not in Brussels or in Athens, but in London. The treaty which established Belgium "as a neutral State" was signed in London on Nov. 15, 1831, by the representatives of England, France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. The treaty which made modern Greece a nation was signed likewise in London, on July 6, 1827, and reaffirmed in 1830, supplemented by a treaty signed at Constantinople on July 21, 1832.

Both small nations were, therefore, in the making at the same time, and in the formation of both the present Entente Allies played the greater rôle—in Greece they accomplished the whole task of liberation.

Belgium came into being as a result of the collapse of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, due in part to the unfair treatment of the Belgians by the Dutch ruler; but more to the national aspirations of the Belgians. But the Belgians were not strong enough to build their own State; therefore England and France came to their rescue and entered into an agreement with the other major powers that Belgium should be "a neutral State," Prussia and Austria being signatories to this now famous "scrap of

paper." All the signatory powers were bound under this treaty not only to refrain from any violation of Belgian territory or sovereignty but, further, to come to the rescue of Belgium with armed force should any power infringe Belgium's neutrality. It was under the terms of this treaty that France and England led troops into Belgium when her neutrality was violated by Germany on Aug. 4, 1914.

The German Chancellor has publicly charged that Belgium had forfeited her neutrality before the Germans violated it. On two occasions, on both of which Belgium was threatened by Germany, the British Military Attaché at Brussels conferred with the Belgian War Minister as to the aid which England would bring to Belgium should she be attacked by Germany. This is the basis of the German Chancellor's charge. But it is absolutely clear that the facts charged in no way constitute a violation of Belgian neutrality. If Belgium was threatened it was not only the right, it was the duty, of the signatory powers to prepare to defend her. So weak was the charge against Belgium felt to be that it was supported by forgery. Whereas, according to the papers seized at Brussels, the British Attaché insisted "that our conversation was strictly confidential," the North German Gazette, which received the papers from the German Chancellor, rendered the phrase thus: The British Attaché insisted "that our convention should be absolutely confidential." This is, of course, simply forgery of a peculiarly despicable kind.

The newly created Belgium was governed by Leopold I., (1831-65,) Leopold II., (1865-1909,) and by her present ruler, Albert, who came to the throne, on the death of his uncle, in 1909.

II.

Modern Greece became a nation first through the influence of Russia, as the

most powerful nation belonging to the Greek Catholic Church; next, through a national movement, a part of the upheaval which created Rumania, and, finally, through the armed intervention of France, England, and Russia at a time when the Greek national movement had degenerated into hopeless disorder and anarchy.

The Greek Nation was actually constituted by these three great powers by a treaty signed in London on July 6, 1827, supplemented by a conference of the three powers at the Foreign Office in London on March 22, 1829, which declared, among other things, that "Greece shall enjoy, under the suzerainty of the Porte, the internal administration best calculated to guarantee the religious and commercial liberty, as well as the prosperity and repose, which it is desired to assure it. With this view, that administration shall be assimilated, as much as possible, to monarchical forms, and shall be confided to a Christian Chief or Prince, whose authority shall be hereditary, in the order of primogeniture. In no case can that Chief be chosen among the Princes of the families reigning in the three States of the powers who signed the treaty of July 6, 1827, and the first choice shall be effected in concert with the three Courts (of France, England, and Russia) and the Ottoman Porte. In case of the extinction of the reigning branch, the Porte shall participate in the choice of the new Chief in the same manner as it took part in the choice of the first," that is, under the supervision and with the consent of France, England, and Russia.

Greece, after three centuries of slavery and a bloody revolution, was thus constituted by the three allied powers. There had been a period of nominally republican government, with Count John Capod'Istria as President. He is referred to in one of the documents accompanying the London agreement: "The sacrifices which the powers have already made, and those which they continue to make, for Greece give them incontestably the right to interfere in an active manner in the form of its government and to exclude from it all the principles which should be

thought incompatible at the same time with the real social tendency of the Greek people and with the repose of Europe. The President, whose opinion is of preponderating weight in this affair, goes even further, for he recognizes in the three allied powers the right not only to require from Greece guarantees of order and stability, but also that of founding a monarchical government."

The conference of London on Feb. 3, 1830, declared that "Greece owes her existence to the succors of every kind which the three powers have lavished upon her. * * * On these grounds they consider that they have a right to expect from her an entire deference to their decision. * * *

As a result of Russian victories leading up to the Treaty of Adrianople, Turkey was compelled to accept the liberation of Greece under nominal suzerainty, with a moderate tribute or contribution. The three powers chose Prince Leopold as first ruler of the new Greece—the same Prince who later made an admirable ruler of Belgium during thirty-four years. He came to Greece, but, because he could not add Crete to his kingdom, he soon departed. Otto of Bavaria was then chosen by the three powers. For some ten years he reigned harshly and despotically. Then a revolution compelled him to accept a Constitution and dismiss his Bavarian troops, who had terrorized the Greeks. His reign ended in 1863.

The three powers, France, England, and Russia, held themselves to be, and in fact were, both creators and trustees of the Greek Nation. As such they chose Prince Otto as a first ruler. As such they financed Greece, contributing \$12,000,000 to the Treasury of the needy State. About one-fourth of this sum went as tribute to Turkey; so that, in a sense, these three powers bought modern Greece from her century-long oppressors. Again, as trustees, the three powers, on the final failure of Otto of Bavaria, chose the Danish Prince, who reigned as King George I. and who was seated on the throne of Greece in virtue of a treaty signed in London on July 13, 1863. In the following year a semi-revolutionary movement gave Greece the very demo-

cratic Constitution which is still, at least nominally, in force.

Therefore the three powers, France, England, and Russia, who liberated and created Greece, held themselves morally and formally bound to continue their trusteeship. Their choice of a ruler showed this. Their action in choosing a second ruler, in 1863, a third of a century later, showed that their duties and rights in Greece were still entirely operative. Their intervention, which saved Greece from reconquest by Turkey after the inglorious war of thirty days in the Summer of 1897, demonstrated that the same duties and rights are wholly valid now. In reality no further legal and moral justification is needed for everything these same powers have done in modern Greece in recent months, whether at Saloniki or at Athens.

III.

But they have further justification of the strongest kind. Eleutherios Venizelos, as Premier of Greece, commanding a strong parliamentary majority, and, therefore the mouthpiece of Constitutional authority in Greece, invited these three powers to land at Saloniki to act against the Bulgarians and their allies. This was quite frankly admitted by the German Minister, recently expelled from Athens. It has never been questioned and cannot be questioned.

There is a further obligation. Greece stood bound by treaty to fight to defend Serbia. Constantine, in spite of the strong insistence of Venizelos, refused to be bound by this treaty, therefore Venizelos invited the three powers to bring Serbia the help which Greece had bound herself in honor to give but had failed to give owing to the interference of Constantine with the Constitutional Government of Greece.

The framers of the Greek Constitution of 1864 copied English models, and, as the British Constitution formally invests in the sovereign powers which are really exercised by Parliament, the

Greek Constitution used the same phrases. But, adopting the phrases of the British Constitution, it failed to adopt the moral guarantees which absolutely check all arbitrary action by the British sovereign. Constantine has taken advantage of this, has wholly ignored the moral guarantees, and precisely by keeping the letter of the Greek Constitution has grossly violated its spirit. This creates precisely such a state of affairs as was foreseen by the three constituting powers in 1830; circumstances which would "give them incontestably the right to interfere in the form of its government and to exclude from it all the principles which should be thought incompatible with the real social tendency of the Greek people."

IV.

There is, therefore, an absolute contrast, legal, moral, and ethical, between Germany's action in Belgium and the action of the "three guaranteeing powers," France, Russia, and England, in Greece. Germany was solemnly bound by treaty not to violate the territory or sovereignty of Belgium. The three guaranteeing powers were equally bound by treaty, under circumstances such as exist, to intervene in Greece; further, they were asked so to intervene by the Constitutional Government of Greece, to repair the pledges to Serbia which had been broken by Constantine.

The true analogy with the action of France, England, and Russia, in their intervention in Greece, is the action of these same powers intervening in Belgium. In both cases they come in obedience to solemn treaty engagements; in both cases they come to give effect to the real national life and the lawful authority of the nation. In Greece the three guaranteeing powers are seeking to save the honor of Greece, just as, in 1897, they saved her national life; just as they are seeking to redeem Belgium from abominable wrongs.

New Submarine Complications

Sinking of the Arabia, Marina, and Other Vessels Without Warning

EVIDENCE that German submarines are violating the pledge given to the United States last May has been accumulating during the month and has presented a problem of increasing gravity. According to a British Admiralty announcement on Nov. 15 thirty-three vessels were sunk by German submarines without warning between May 5 and Nov. 8, resulting in the loss of 140 lives. Twenty-six of these were British ships, those whose sinking entailed the heaviest mortality being the Golconda, on which nineteen lives were lost; the Euphorbia, eleven lives lost; the Franconia, twelve, and the Marina, eighteen. Many other cases have been added since the date named.

The issue of international law has centered chiefly about the Arabia and the Marina, both of which had Americans on board. Each of these has been the subject of diplomatic investigation by the United States. The sinking of the Peninsular and Oriental liner Arabia in the Mediterranean on Nov. 6 involves no question of indemnity, such as arose in the Lusitania case, for only one American was on board, and he was saved. But the evidence that this passenger vessel was torpedoed without warning is none the less a matter of serious concern, as it involves a violation of the pledge extorted from Germany at the time of the Sussex episode.

The sinking of the British freighter Marina on Oct. 28, 100 miles off the Irish coast, involved the loss of six American lives and was at once taken up vigorously by the American Government. Affidavits obtained from survivors by Ambassador Page and transmitted to Secretary Lansing declare that the Marina was sunk by a German submarine torpedo without warning, that it made no resistance, and did not try to escape. The affidavits showed that the vessel was armed with a 4.7-inch gun mounted astern for

defensive purposes, but that the weapon was not used. There was no opportunity to use it, because the officers had no warning that the vessel would be sunk. The affidavits indicate that the Marina was struck by two torpedoes, with an interval of twelve minutes between, and that the second was followed by a boiler explosion. The loss of the Americans' lives was due to their drowning as the lifeboats were being launched in a rough sea. One of the boats was in the water seventeen hours, another twenty-one hours, and a third thirty-one hours.

The cases of both the Marina and Arabia are regarded in the United States as a continuance of Germany's lawless submarine warfare, thinly disguised by excuses and inadequate explanations. The German Government admits the act in both cases, but asserts that the submarine commanders believed the vessels to be armed transports. The correspondence between Washington and Berlin on the subject has been conducted thus far through Joseph C. Grew, the American Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin, and Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, the new German Foreign Minister.

Germany's Reply on Arabia

On Nov. 21 the American Government sent an informal inquiry regarding the facts in the case of the Arabia. The text of the German reply is as follows:

Foreign Office,
Berlin, Dec. 4, 1916.

The undersigned has the honor to inform Mr. Grew, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States of America, in reply to the note of the 21st ultimo, Foreign Office, No. 14,401, that the investigation conducted by the German Government concerning the sinking of the British steamer Arabia has led to the following results:

On the morning of Nov. 6 a German submarine encountered a large steamer coming from the Cerigo Straits, 100 nautical miles west of the Island of Cerigo; the steamer was painted black and had black superstructures, and not, as is otherwise the case with

the P. & O. Line superstructures, a light color; the steamer, which was identical with the Arabia, was not traveling on the route regularly used by the passenger steamers between Port Said and Malta, as is made plain on the inclosed map, but was taking a zigzag course toward the west, 120 nautical miles north of that route; this course, on which the submarine had passed three similar steamers at the same spot on the same morning, leads from the Aegean to Malta, so that the Arabia was moving on the transport route Cerigo-Malta, used solely for war purposes, according to the experiences until now. The commander of the submarine further ascertained that there were large batches of Chinese and other colored persons in their national costumes on board the steamer; he considered them to be workmen soldiers, such as are used in great numbers behind the front by the enemies of Germany; in spite of the clear weather and careful observation, he did not perceive any women and children.

In these circumstances, the commander of the submarine was convinced that in the case of this steamer he was concerned with a transport ship for troops in the service of the British Government, which is to be considered as an auxiliary warship, according to international law, and can therefore be treated like a warship. He accordingly considered himself justified in attacking the steamer without delay, and sank it.

Should the American Government give the official data showing that the Arabia was at the time of the torpedoing an ordinary passenger steamer, the action of the commander would not have been in accordance with the instructions given him, since these instructions are now, as before, in agreement with the assurances of the German note of May, 1916. This would then be a case of a regrettable mistake, from which the German Government would promptly draw the appropriate consequences.

The undersigned requests the *Chargé d'Affaires* to bring the above to the knowledge of the American Government and avails himself.

(Signed) ZIMMERMANN.

The State Department at Washington found this explanation far from satisfactory, but decided that the next step was too serious to take without further facts. Meanwhile the Marina case was under similar discussion. A German note of Nov. 28 stated that a definite answer to the American inquiry could not be given until more details were forthcoming. On Dec. 11 the State Department announced that as a matter of courtesy it had sent to Berlin the data it had gathered regarding the Marina. Investigation had developed the fact that the vessel had not been under charter or requisition by the British Government, but was carry-

ing horses at so much a head. It was not, therefore, a war transport. The United States has demanded that the character of a vessel be determined beyond doubt—by actual visit and search, if necessary—before it is sunk by an enemy. All the evidence goes to show that neither the Marina nor the Arabia was a transport, that both were torpedoed without warning, and that the policy of the German submarine commanders in trying to ascertain the character of their victims by periscope observations is an inexcusable menace to the lives of innocent neutrals.

The issue remains unsettled at this writing, but its seriousness is acknowledged at Washington. Marine insurance rates have been substantially increased. The sinking of the American steamship Chemung, which went down near Spain with the Stars and Stripes flying, and the fate of the Columbian, Palermo, Lanao, and other victims of German torpedoes during the month deepened the impression without changing the issue.

Dr. Zimmermann's Defense

Germany's attitude on the subject is indicated in verbal statements made by Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, in which he said:

The German naval forces are not sinking neutral merchant ships *per se*. They are sinking as a defensive measure ammunition transports and other contraband shipments to our enemies that are calculated to lengthen the war. It is not strictly correct, therefore, to speak of "submarine warfare" in this connection. We are conducting cruiser warfare, waged by means of submarines, acting in punctilious compliance with the rules of international law applying to cruiser warfare. Our position, therefore, both militarily and from the viewpoint of international law, is irreproachable, and the propagandistic accusation and charge in connection with ships sunk, as agitated by the English press, are interesting and important only as indicating how hard England is being hit by our defensive submarine measures against England's hunger war and England's economic strangle hold on the neutral nations in question.

Our cruiser warfare with submarines is being conducted in strict compliance with the German prize regulations, which correspond to the international rules laid down and agreed to in the Declaration of London, and this despite the fact that England has refused to be bound by the London Declaration. Germany, accordingly, will continue to exercise her perfect good right to take these defen-

sive measures. If neutrals have to lament the loss of ships and cargoes, it should be remembered that the real blame lies on England. * * *

Germany has promised the United States to carry on submarine war according to the international rules of cruiser warfare. The orders to the commanders of our submarines are clear and strict in this direction. I can affirm with absolute certainty that no German submarine has intentionally attacked a merchant ship without warning and without giving all on board ample time and opportunity for rescue.

We are animated by the best feelings toward everybody, but we are fighting for the life and future of our nation. Everybody can understand that at such a moment as this German public opinion analyzes very carefully the facts and compares our attitude with that of the enemy. Of course, we are cut off from the greater part of the communications with the outer world, especially with the United States. Our enemies use the cables, the mails, and the spoken word in order to plead their case before the whole world. But the other nations also ought to hear our voice, our grievances.

The United States Government has filed at Berlin no less than ten inquiries concerning recent submarine acts. Germany's tendency is to base its defense upon the ground that merchantmen carrying a gun for defense are virtually auxiliary cruisers and subject to the same treatment as warships. Such a justification cannot be accepted by the United States Government, which has definitely ruled that merchantmen may carry a defensive gun at the stern without altering their status.

It may be added here that the German merchant submarine Deutschland completed a second successful voyage to the United States during the month just past. After a few days' delay by an accident near New London she sailed on Nov. 21 with a \$2,000,000 cargo, and reached Bremen on Dec. 10, having successfully run the British blockade.

British Admiralty List of German Violations of Submarine Pledge

THE British Admiralty has compiled a list of British merchant ships which, it officially states, have been torpedoed without warning of any kind since the German pledge to adhere to the rules of cruiser warfare was made to President Wilson on May 5 last. From May 5 to Oct. 28 this list numbered twenty-two ships, and the lives lost totaled 131. The detailed list up to the Marina is as follows:

| Vessels | Tonnage. | Date. | Miles from Land. |
|-------------------|----------|----------|------------------|
| Cymric | 13,370 | May 8 | 140 |
| (4 lives lost.) | | | |
| Golconda | 5,874 | June 3 | .. |
| (19 lives lost.) | | | |
| Moeris | 3,409 | June 30 | 46 |
| (3 lives lost.) | | | |
| Calypso | 2,876 | | .. |
| (30 lives lost.) | | | |
| Euphorbia | 3,837 | July 16 | 46 |
| (11 lives lost.) | | | |
| Aaro | 2,603 | Aug. 1 | .. |
| (3 lives lost.) | | | |
| Swift Wings | 4,465 | Sept. 1 | 18 |
| (2 lives lost.) | | | |
| Butetown | 3,789 | Sept. 8 | 60 |
| Llangorse | 3,841 | Sept. 8 | 48 |
| Inverbervie | 3,841 | Sept. 14 | 20 |
| (6 lives lost.) | | | |

| Vessels | Tonnage. | Date. | Miles from Land. |
|--------------------|----------|----------|------------------|
| Italiana | 2,663 | Sept. 14 | 112 |
| Dewa | 3,802 | Sept. 17 | 45 |
| (3 lives lost.) | | | |
| Lord Tredegar | 3,856 | Sept. 17 | 51 |
| (4 lives lost.) | | | |
| Kennett | 1,679 | Sept. 22 | .. |
| (30 lives lost.) | | | |
| Secondo | 3,912 | Sept. 27 | 40 |
| Huntsfall | 4,331 | Oct. 2 | 12 |
| Franconia | 18,150 | Oct. 4 | 195 |
| (12 lives lost.) | | | |
| Elax | 3,980 | Oct. 10 | 70 |
| Crosshill | 5,002 | Oct. 11 | 60 |
| (4 lives lost.) | | | |
| Sebek | 4,601 | Oct. 10 | .. |
| Penylan | 3,875 | Oct. 19 | .. |
| Marina | 5,204 | Oct. 28 | 100 |

A statement made public with this list says:

From the fact that the Cymric of the White Star Line was sunk without warning three days after Count von Bernstorff delivered his country's note to the White House, it may be gathered that Berlin has no steady intention of sticking to the letter of the note exacted by the President of the United States at a time when severance of diplomatic relations between Germany and America appeared imminent. Four lives were lost on the Cymric.

About 140 lives have been lost in the sinking of more than twenty British ships with-

GERMANY'S NEW FOREIGN MINISTER



Dr. Alfred F. M. Zimmermann, Former Under Secretary, Is Now
Head of the German Foreign Office. Succeeding von Jagow.

(Photo by Bain News Service.)

GENERAL VON BESELER



Governor General of Conquered Russian Poland, Who Has Proclaimed a Polish Kingdom Under German Suzerainty.

(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

out warning by German submarines. Shots and even torpedoes were fired when men and women were making for the boats. One of the last vessels to be sunk without warning by the Germans was the *Marina*, off the coast of Ireland—a tribute to German frightfulness which still is fresh in the minds of the world.

Since the time of the delivery of the famous German promise to the White House more than 100 British ships have been sent to the bottom of the seas by German submarines, and in these cases a perfunctory warning of a few minutes has been given to those aboard the vessels. Men and women have been set adrift on the high seas in boats, with the result that many were drowned. Others have been killed by the shots which followed so speedily upon the warning solid shot across the vessel's bows. It also is noted that cases have been frequent where the crews of vessels were picked up in an exhausted condition.

In the case of the *Cymric*, the first flagrant instance of Germany's frightfulness following her promise to the United States, four men were killed when the torpedo from the U-boat struck the ship, which then was 140 miles from land. She had 112 persons aboard, and left New York City on April 29. The attack on her occurred on May 8.

The *Canford Chine*, which was sunk off the coast of Spain, was given but little time before the German commander of the U-boat sent shots at the vessel. Her crew were tossed about in small boats for more than twelve hours. Eleven men and the master were lost from the *Windermere*, another victim of a German submarine on June 27, when she went to the bottom off Port Mahon. The Chief Officer and eleven men got into one boat and the Captain and eleven others into the second boat. The Captain's craft is supposed to have capsized in the bad weather.

One of the steamship *Calypso's* boats was found on the shores of Norway. That is all that is known of her, except that the German Government announced that they had sunk the *Calyx*, the former name of the *Calypso*. Thirty perished on this vessel, which undoubtedly received no warning from the U-boat. She left London July 7 and was last seen passing Hull.

The *Kennett* was sunk without warning in the Gulf of Finland, and the Captain and his crew of thirty Russians all perished. The *Virginia*, owned by Edward Grey & Co. of Liverpool, was attacked by a submarine off Cape Matapan. Many shots followed right on the perfunctory warning and nine of the crew were wounded, while, in taking to the boats, the Chief Officer and another man were drowned. Three boats with twenty-five of the crew got away safely, leaving one waterlogged boat for the remaining twenty-five and the Captain. While the Master and the Chief Officer were lowering a wounded native into a boat the submarine discharged

a torpedo, which glanced off the ship and headed back toward the German craft. It exploded sixty yards away. The Captain of the *Virginia* was twice sucked down with his vessel after the German had fired a second torpedo. He came up and was saved.

In going through the lists of vessels which fell victims to the German submarines one comes across the case of the *Huntsfall*, in which twelve of the crew were killed. The survivors took to the sea in their boats when 195 miles off Malta, and after many hours they finally were rescued by the Dover Castle.

The *Euphorbia* of the Stag Line of North Shields was sent to the bottom without so much as a preliminary solid shot, and eleven lives were lost. Both the starboard lifeboats were smashed by the explosion, but there were two rafts on the vessel. The survivors got away from the ship in the two port boats and the rafts. Six men were blown to pieces in the stokehold. After towing one lifeboat for six hours the Captain went in his boat to Algiers for assistance. This happened on July 16.

The *Swift Wings* of N. Hallet & Co. met her fate eighteen miles east of Cape Bengut, Algiers. She had no warning from the U-boat, and two men were killed. On Sept. 8 the *Llangerse* also was torpedoed without warning, and the Chief Officer perished. Nine days afterward the *Lord Tredegar*, which left New York Aug. 24, unwarned, was torpedoed off Malta and four men lost their lives. As in other cases, lifeboats were destroyed and damaged by the explosion.

On more than one steamship that was torpedoed the submarine Captain did not give the men a chance to get to their boats, but gave the order to fire three or four minutes after the warning shot. As in the case of the *West Point*, sunk by the U-53, the commander was in the chart room, hardly having had time to give the order to abandon the ship when the second shot burst right through that structure.

The crew of that vessel while getting into boats had a hard time, because of the shell fire from the submarine while trying to get away from their vessel.

The *Stephano*, with many American passengers aboard, is another instance in which the lives of not only the crew but women were imperiled, and many undoubtedly would have perished had it not been for the timely aid of the American destroyers.

A second Admiralty table gives the names of 107 ships, all of British registry, sunk by German submarines in the same period, which, it is stated, were sunk and "the lives of the crews and passengers imperiled through their being forced to take to the sea in open boats, while their ships were a target for the enemy's guns."

Germany's Drive in Rumania

By a Former Officer of the German Army

[See maps of Rumania in preceding pages]

THE campaign of the Central Powers against Rumania had three distinct aims in view—the protection of the Orient Railroad and Constantinople, the acquisition of the resources of the Rumanian Kingdom, and the elimination of the Rumanian Army.

To realize the first aim action was required in two separate theatres: On the Rumanian western frontier, where the Orient Railroad was imperiled by a Rumanian force attempting to cross the Danube in the middle of the month of September, and in the Dobrudja, where the Russians were undertaking a thrust against Constantinople at about the same time. The massing of troops south of the Iron Gate on Serbian soil proved an effective check to the Rumanian advance, which did not go beyond Negotin, and Rumanian action was henceforth confined entirely to Transylvania, where it succeeded in pressing heavily against the Teutonic troops.

To alleviate this pressure Field Marshal von Mackensen, in command of Bulgarian and German troops south of the Danube, threw the Rumanians who had invaded Bulgaria across their southern frontier, back over the Danube between Rustchuk and Tutrakan, and with a mighty thrust rolled the Russians, who likewise had invaded Bulgaria, back through the Dobrudja beyond the Cernavoda-Constanza railroad through the possession of which he cut Rumania off from the Black Sea and the sorely needed Russian reinforcements and supplies. This powerful counteraction compelled the Rumanians to weaken the forces which they had engaged in the invasion of Transylvania, and it afforded the Austro-Hungarian defenders the desired relief.

These isolated campaigns, which constitute the prelude to the later combined concentric action of the Central Powers, took place in the time up to Nov. 15. From that day onward Mackensen's activity was suspended until the northern

half of the ring that was to close about Rumania should be ready to be pushed forward. The first aim, the protection of the Orient Railroad and of Constantinople, had been realized.

Falkenhayn's Mountain Battles

The second phase of the campaign began when General von Falkenhayn led the Ninth German Army, reinforced by Austro-Hungarian troops, against the Transylvanian invaders. Toward the close of September and at the beginning of October the Rumanians suffered three great defeats, one south of Hermannstadt at the Red Tower Pass, another near Fogaras, and a third to the south of Kronstadt at the Predeal Pass. They withdrew their whole front into the mountains, where they fortified the heights and the passes. It was in the Transylvanian Alps that the bitterest fighting of the whole campaign ensued. The Teutonic troops succeeded in a relatively short time in breaking the resistance of the Rumanians despite the terrible difficulties of the terrain. Bavarians and Hungarians won especial distinction in these mountain battles.

The main pressure was brought to bear by General von Falkenhayn against the Vulkan Pass. As soon as the Rumanians began to give way here they had to withdraw their entire front from the mountains in order to escape the danger of being outflanked from the west. Once across the passes and on the southern slopes of the Transylvanian Alps, the attackers rapidly deployed their front, and fighting proceeded in the open on the plains of Little Wallachia.

Falkenhayn directed his advance from the Vulkan Pass against the valley of the Jiu, from the Red Tower Pass against that of the Alt. In the second half of November the Rumanian resistance in Northwest Wallachia was broken, the fleeing troops retreated to Craiova, hotly pursued by the Germans. A wedge was thus driven between the Rumanian forces at the Iron Gate and the fleeing first

army. Orsova and Turnu Severin, on the western frontier of Rumania, were occupied on Nov. 24, and the defenders were dispersed. That removed all possibility of a danger to the rear of Falkenhayn's army, (the Ninth.)

Crossing the Danube.

Before this, and earlier than might have been expected, several Bulgarian and German cavalry divisions, covered by a German motor boat corps, had effected a crossing of the Danube to the west of Rahova and established connection with the advance guards of the Ninth Army. The dragnet had been closed and now was being drawn in through all of Western Wallachia. Here we have the transition phase from separate marching to combined striking in a masterly application of Moltke's famous principle.

While the centre of the Ninth Army in the north was following the downward course of the Alt, threatening the rear and flank of the Rumanians, who had to fall back from Craiova to the Alt as their next natural line of defense, the Danube army in the south crossed that river on Nov. 26 near Simnitza, endangering thereby the rear communications of the Rumanians in the direction of Alexandria. To hold the Alt became impossible, and the Rumanians at the close of the month abandoned that position as well as the lines further back of the Vedeia and Teljorman, and it was behind the Argesu River that they first made a stand, on Dec. 3.

In the meantime, while the Teutonic centre was pushing forward, taking Pitesci on its way on Nov. 29, more German troops kept moving down from the mountain regions of Campolung. The Rumanians were thus caught on two fronts, one facing west, the other north, while in their rear they were hemmed in by the course of the Dimbovitza.

From this untenable position retreat was the only means of salvation. While the right Rumanian wing was thus completely crushed in, the Teutonic army continued its pursuit of the Rumanian centre and gained possession of the Pietrosita-Titu-Bucharest railroad, the only avenue of which the vanquished northern wing of the Rumanian Army might have

availed itself for a retreat into the capital. These troops were completely pulverized.

Closing in on Bucharest

As has been mentioned above, the Rumanian centre made a stand on the Argesu on Dec. 3. Undoubtedly there was a chance here of bringing the pursuers to a halt, for the Argesu is some 900 feet wide, runs very deep, and its many rapids would have made the building of pontoon bridges exceedingly difficult, if the Rumanians had found time to destroy the existing bridges. This they did not succeed in doing, and their retreat continued, while on the lower course of the river the Russians, greatly reinforced, attempted to save the situation by a counterstroke with vastly superior numbers. Not only was this attempt frustrated by the powerful fire to which their left flank was subjected by the artillery of the Danube army, but they were forced back and withdrew behind the Dimbovitza.

The capital was now enveloped on three sides and threatened with immediate bombardment, when it was evacuated by the Rumanian troops in the night from the 5th to the 6th of December.

The evacuation of Bucharest was the signal for the retreat of the Rumanian north army, which withdrew across the Jalomita to Ploechti; this was in turn given up on Dec. 7, and the army fell back until it reached the River Buzeu. Ploechti was of military importance for the reason that it is the centre of the railway net of Eastern Wallachia and is situated on the only railway line over which the defenders of the Predeal and Altschanz Passes in the north might have retreated. As it happened these troops had no time to escape, they were caught on two sides on Dec. 8, and the majority of them were made prisoners.

After the fall of Bucharest the Danube army swept through the southeastern corner of Great Wallachia, cleaning out the bend of the Danube. At the same time the Russians that were left in the Dobrudja joined the retreating forces on the western side of the Danube and the Dobrudja detachment of Mackensen's forces took possession of the Cernavoda bridge.

At this writing (Dec. 14) the armies of the Quadruple Alliance are approaching the river Buzeu, where the Russo-Rumanians will have a possibility of offering a more effective resistance along a line of only 100 miles.

Enormous Rumanian Losses

The haul made by the Teuton-Bulgarian dragnet from the time of taking the Transylvanian passes up to the present amounts to 150,000 men. According to the recognized method of computation the further Rumanian losses would be 250,000 in killed and wounded.

More than one-half of the Rumanian Army is thus permanently eliminated. If the Central Powers have not succeeded in annihilating the entire army, there can be no doubt that its spirit is broken and that the remnants that have joined their Russian brothers-in-arms are not in a condition to have a favorable influence on the latter's morale.

Of war material captured so far, 600 cannon are reported. That amounts to the equipment of four to five army corps.

As the campaign stands today there can be no doubt that the Rumanian participation in the war has been wholly of advantage to the Quadruple Alliance. The value of the possession of Rumania for the Central Powers has three aspects—a political, an economical, and a military one.

Teutons' Strategic Gains

Beginning with the last and assuming that, after reaching the shortest line—let us say the line of the Buzeu—the Germans will halt there and move into Winter quarters, the most salient result would be the shortening of the southeastern front by 650 miles, compared with the time when Rumania had entered the war. It has been maintained by pro-Ally critics that in spite of this shortening of the line the position of the Central Powers would be inferior to what it was before Rumania joined the war, since the battle front would still be longer, and that hundreds of thousands of soldiers of the Central Powers will be kept engaged who before Rumania's participation were free for service on other fronts. This conclusion is a mistaken one. For,

though avowedly neutral, Rumania was all the time considered by the Central Powers as such an uncertain factor in their calculations that all along her frontiers, especially at the Iron Gate, troops had to be kept that must have numbered at least half a million. The shortening of the Rumanian front from 750 miles originally to the prospective shortest line of 100 miles will therefore actually release no less than those half a million men who before Rumania's declaration of war had to be kept on her frontier.

The second strategic success which the Central Powers will have gained through the campaign is the danger in which the left Russian flank will find itself before long. It formerly rested on the mountain positions in the Bukowina, while now the front will extend as far down south as the bend where the wooded Carpathians and the Transylvanian Alps meet. It will be in peril of being rolled up or enveloped, a possibility which was less great in the Bukowina. If the Central Powers should not move into Winter quarters, but invade Moldavia, that peril to the Russian flank would arise immediately.

The economic advantage gained from the possession of 25,000 square miles of the most productive territory of Rumania is too generally acknowledged to require many words. It may be summed up by saying that it means the definite collapse of the British scheme of forcing Central Europe into an ignominious peace on account of lack of food and other supplies. The economical insuperability of the Central Powers is raised from the plane of probability to that of absolute certainty.

Political and Moral Effect

The political and moral effect of the success of Germany and her allies is undoubtedly very great all over the world, though in America the press attempts to belittle it. The campaign has revealed the enormous reserve of strength possessed by the Central Powers, their capacity not merely to stick in their trenches and defend them, but to come out into the open in powerful array and deal swift, mighty, and well-calculated blows in an

offensive which by itself represents a war of considerable magnitude. On the other hand, the campaign has shown the helplessness of the Allies in situations which are entirely of their own choice and making. Russia failed adequately to support the Rumanian Army, and all that the western allies did to relieve the desperate situation was the pathetic counter-action across Serbia, which came to a halt a few miles beyond Monastir.

Editorial Note.—On Dec. 10 Emperor William conferred upon Field Marshal von Hindenburg the Grand Cross of the Iron Cross with an autograph letter in which he said:

"My Dear Field Marshal: The Rumanian campaign, which with God's assistance already has led to such brilliant successes, will be valued in the war history of all times as a bright example of the strategic art of genius.

"You have again conducted great operations with rare prudence as regards splendid arrangements, with the greatest energy in carrying them out, and you proposed to me

To the neutral nations of Europe Rumania's fate, after that of Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro, cannot fail to be a warning not to let themselves be dragged into the war by fine promises and with the seemingly inevitable result of extinction for no other purpose than to put off, in the interest of their great allied friends, the dark day on which they will have to acknowledge final defeat—unless peace intervenes in the meantime.

with far-seeing thoughtfulness. measures which directed the way to separately marching columns for a united blow.

"To you and your well-tried assistants of the General Staff the thanks of the Fatherland again are due. With proud joy and satisfaction it has learned the news of victory and, full of confidence in such leaders, looks into the future. But I desire to give especial expression of my deepest thanks by conferring upon you as the first of my Generals the Grand Cross of the Iron Cross.

"Your grateful and always very affectionate King,
WILHELM."

Will Rumania's Downfall Prolong the War Indefinitely?

["Politicus," who is an important English publicist, in *The Fortnightly Review* of London, reveals startling facts regarding Rumania's supreme importance to the Teutonic Powers in the matter of food supplies.]

RUMANIA'S downfall would have the most serious consequences not only to the Rumanians themselves but also to the Allies. Let us investigate Rumania's position both from the economic and from the strategical point of view.

Rumania is only a small State. Its area is 50,702 square miles, while that of the United Kingdom is 121,371 square miles. The country is inhabited by only 7,500,000 people. The southern part of Rumania consists of the Danube Valley. It is a level plain. The northern part is formed by the very gentle slope of the Carpathian Mountains. The country is blessed with an exceedingly prolific soil, a favorable climate, and an industrious population. Hence the 7,500,000 Rumanians produce on their narrow territory vast crops of cereals, beans, potatoes, beetroot, tobacco, fruit of every kind,

wine, &c. On the Carpathian slope there are huge and exceedingly valuable forests. Minerals, such as iron, copper, lead, mercury, nickel, sulphur, and coal, abound, and the Rumanian oilfields are celebrated for their productiveness. The British blockade is beginning to be exceedingly effective. Germany is suffering keenly from lack of food and raw materials. By subjecting Rumania she can provide a vast store of the foodstuffs and raw materials she requires.

The Germans are attacking Rumania with the greatest energy, not so much from thirst for revenge, as their statesmen and newspapers assert, but from desire for bread, meat, &c. It is not generally known that until recently Rumania was the third largest exporter of wheat in the world—that in the exportation of that grain she ranged immediately after the United States and Russia. During

the last few years Argentina and Canada have come to the front as exporters of wheat, but even now Rumania sometimes exports per year more wheat than does Canada. By conquering Rumania Germany would conquer, therefore, another Canada. It is noteworthy that Rumania produces almost twice as much wheat as the whole of Austria and about 60 per cent. as much as is raised in the whole of the gigantic German Empire.

According to the last Consular Report on Rumania which gives the figures only for 1911, the following were the principal exports of that country:

| | Tons. |
|-------------------------|-----------|
| Wheat | 1,458,029 |
| Maize | 1,555,332 |
| Barley | 475,164 |
| Oats | 233,296 |
| Beans | 72,271 |
| Flour | 64,917 |
| Rye | 130,755 |
| Oxen | *22,856 |
| Eggs | 8,624 |
| Millet | 35,490 |
| Bran | 41,455 |
| Wooden planks..... | 237,799 |
| Benzine | 124,414 |
| Refined petroleum..... | 318,434 |
| Petroleum residues..... | 200,822 |
| Colza | 36,837 |

*Heads.

It will be noticed that in 1911 Rumania exported more than 4,000,000 tons of grain, flour, &c. Rumania produces, as a rule, about 10,000,000 tons of grain of every kind. If Germany should succeed in subduing Rumania she would undoubtedly follow her traditional policy of confiscating foodstuffs right and left and starving the population. To the hundreds of thousands who have been killed by starvation in Poland and Serbia hundreds of thousands of Rumanians would be added. The Rumanians would no doubt be put on half rations at the best. Instead of consuming between six and seven million tons of grain and exporting three or four million tons, they would be left with about three million tons of grain, while six or seven million tons would go to Germany. The significance of that colossal quantity will be understood only

if we convert it into train loads at 150 tons each.

The grain which Germany could draw from Rumania would be equivalent to half a pound of flour per head per day for every one of the 70,000,000 inhabitants of the German Empire.

It should not be forgotten that, in addition to the yearly crop, Germany could confiscate the vast stores of grain and flour which have been accumulated in Rumania during the war. Germany's food position would be secured by the conquest of Rumania, especially as the yearly harvest of that country can be doubled by improved agriculture. Rumania's downfall would obviously nullify the British blockade as far as Germany's food is concerned. Rumania produces not only vast quantities of grain, but also of meat. She had in 1900, the last year for which statistics are available, 2,588,526 cattle, 5,655,444 sheep, 232,515 goats, 1,709,205 pigs, and 864,324 horses.

It is generally known that Germany suffers keenly from lack of petroleum and of the products made from it. Rumania is an exceedingly important petroleum producer. According to the last Consular Report her exports and her production of that commodity were as follows:

| | Production of Crude Oil. | Export of Oil Products. |
|-----------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| | Tons. | Tons. |
| 1906..... | 971,019 | 325,327 |
| 1907..... | 1,147,483 | 430,595 |
| 1908..... | 1,139,268 | 465,444 |
| 1909..... | 1,355,867 | 421,165 |
| 1910..... | 1,326,495 | 586,104 |
| 1911..... | 1,625,119 | 677,982 |
| 1912..... | 1,806,942 | 849,447 |
| 1913..... | 1,885,384 | 1,031,350 |

It will be noticed that the production of petroleum doubled between 1906 and 1913, and that it steadily increased during that period. The production of petroleum in Rumania can apparently be expanded indefinitely and its exportation could be increased very greatly immediately by prohibiting the use of petroleum in Rumania.

The facts and figures given prove conclusively that Rumania's downfall would be a disaster of the first magnitude to

the Grand Alliance. It would almost completely nullify the British blockade. Germany and Austria-Hungary could hold out indefinitely as far as bread, meat, and petroleum are concerned, and their position with regard to wool and leather would be greatly improved. In addition, the Rumanian mines could supply them with considerable quantities of copper, nickel, &c.

Let us now consider Rumania's position from the strategical point of view:

Germany suffers keenly not only from lack of food and of raw materials, but also from lack of men. Turkey and Turkish Asia Minor are exceedingly important to Germany, for she can draw thence not only vast numbers of excellent fighters, but food and raw material as well.

At the beginning of the war the two Central Empires were separated from their Turkish vassal by Serbia and Bulgaria, which together formed a powerful dike. Turkish troops could not be sent to Central Europe and Germany could send only surreptitiously and by difficult roundabout ways to Turkey the guns, ammunition, &c., which the Turks urgently required. When Turkey's position became critical the Allies, with incredible folly, allowed Serbia to be destroyed by a simultaneous attack from the north and east. The downfall of Serbia created a valuable, but scarcely a sufficient, connection between Berlin and Constantinople, for only a single railway line connects the two capitals by way of Serbia. If Rumania should share Serbia's fate, the small breach in the dike created by Serbia's occupation would become a huge gap. A glance at the map shows that, in addition to the Belgrade-Nish-Sofia-Constantinople railway, the Central Powers would obtain three lines of railway leading toward Bulgaria and Turkey. These are the railways which lead from Hermannstadt to Corabia on the Danube or to Bucharest; the line which goes via Kronstadt to Plosci and Bucharest, and, lastly, the railway which goes from the Bukowina to Galatz and Bucharest, or by the Cernavoda Bridge to Constanza. Instead of a single railway line toward Turkey and Bulgaria, Germany would

command four. Her transporting and her striking power by railway would be quadrupled. In addition, she would dispose of the Danube from the source to the mouth, and she could transport on it vast bodies of troops and millions of tons of food and stores, leaving the railways free for other transport. There is a canal which connects the Elbe and the Danube. By subduing Rumania, Germany could easily send a large fleet of submarines by way of the Elbe and Danube into the Black Sea. The Black Sea might become a German-Austrian lake.

If the Rumanian Army can no longer create a diversion in the flank and rear of the Bulgar-German forces facing toward Saloniki, the idea of conquering the Balkan Peninsula from Saloniki would probably have to be abandoned. Germany's vast superiority in transporting troops would make such an undertaking extremely perilous. The international troops would at best have to confine themselves to the passive defense of Saloniki. The downfall of Rumania would not only deprive us of all hope of reconquering the Balkan Peninsula, but would very seriously compromise Russia's position. * * *

The destruction of Rumania's army would not merely have a most unfavorable effect on the economic and strategical position, but on the political position as well. * * * If Rumania should share Serbia's fate, history will hold the Allies responsible for her downfall. The experience of Germany's methods and the destruction of Belgium and Serbia should have made a third disaster impossible. There is a limit to excusable improvisation on the part of nations and their statesmen. Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy could scarcely complain if neutral nations, desirous of benefiting themselves, would conclude that it was dangerous to take the part of the Allies, that it was safe to join the Central European Alliance, and Germany would no doubt make the best use of that situation and force hesitating neutrals into the war at her side by her usual methods. * * * We have evidently arrived at a most important moment, perhaps the decisive moment of the war.

Naval Power in the Present War

By Lieutenant Charles C. Gill

United States Navy

Lieutenant Gill is a graduate of the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis and a member of the Naval Institute. After eight years in the Atlantic fleet, devoted mostly to gunnery, he served recently in the Naval Academy as instructor in English and history. Lieutenant Gill is now again in active service on the United States superdreadnought Oklahoma. He is the author of various expert monographs on naval topics. The article here presented is the first of a series which he has written for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE on the naval lessons of the present war. The series has been submitted to the Hon. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, in accordance with the regulations in such matters, and is published with the sanction of the Naval Department.

I. General View of the Situation

SEA power in the present war has been exerted for the most part behind the scenes. For this reason the potent influence of the silent navies has not been brought home to the public mind. It is hard to realize that the achievements of the allied fleets, accomplished with so little fighting, have had, nevertheless, a far-reaching effect upon the conduct of the war, in comparison to which the much-heralded land battles, involving frightfulness of life and property, are, in their influence toward bringing the war to a decision, small and relatively insignificant.

Before taking up the disposition of potential naval power at the beginning of the war, and the transition to the present conditions of divided active control, it might be well to explain the meanings of some of the technical terms used in speaking of naval operations.

The sea power of a nation may be said to comprise all its means for contesting for control of the sea. It includes the battle fleets and their auxiliaries, cruisers, destroyers, submarines, aircraft, also naval bases and stations, fortified or naturally protected harbors,

coast defenses, the merchant marine, (embracing armed and unarmed vessels engaged in commerce and passenger traffic,) in short, everything the country possesses that may be useful, directly or indirectly, for the purposes of naval warfare.

Big-gun ships comprise the main reliance in battle and are known as "dreadnoughts." These are divided into dreadnought battleships and dreadnought battle cruisers, the difference between the two being that a certain amount of the gun power and armor of the battleship is sacrificed in the battle cruiser in order to get speed. Predreadnought battleships

differ from the dreadnought battleships in that, instead of carrying all big guns and torpedo defense guns, they carry some big guns and some smaller or intermediate battery guns, thus tapering down to the torpedo defense guns. The armored cruiser is faster than the predreadnought battleship, carrying less armor and less powerful guns.

Both predreadnought battleships and armored cruisers are discredited in that no more are being built, but they are by no means useless, and still form an im-



LIEUT. CHARLES C. GILL

portant part of the strength of the more powerful world navies. The light cruiser, used for commerce destroying and scouting, is a comparatively light, fast vessel without armor and carrying a light battery of intermediate calibre guns. The light cruiser type has shown considerable usefulness in the present war and may be regarded as a development of the torpedo boat destroyer, as it also carries torpedo tubes, but the light cruiser is larger and more seaworthy, more habitable and better armed than the destroyer. The torpedo boat is a smaller edition of the destroyer, and the submarine requires no definition. An auxiliary cruiser or a converted cruiser is a merchant ship or private vessel requisitioned by the Government for naval purposes. Such a vessel is usually armed for both offense and defense. She loses her character of a merchant ship engaged in peaceful pursuits and becomes a part of the fighting navy with the status of a regular man-of-war.

On the other hand, an armed merchantman is armed simply for defense. She is not a part of the fighting navy, and her character is determined by her employment. If she is still engaged in the peaceful pursuits of trade the fact that a ship carries one or two guns for defense only does not change her character into that of a man-of-war.

Strategy and tactics comprise the science and art of using these elements of sea power with the object of getting control of the seas. The word *strategy* conveys the idea of preparation for the fighting and *tactics* that of the execution of the fighting.

Potential Sea Control

When nations of maritime importance are at war relative control of the sea, or certain parts of the sea, belongs to the belligerent whose sea power has practically driven the sea power of the other from the areas in question, so that the maritime operations of the former, both naval and commercial, are practically unhindered, while the maritime operations of the latter are for the time being practically nonexistent. For example, it is generally considered that the Allies

at present control the Atlantic. This does not mean that the maritime operations of the Central Powers in these waters have been literally extinguished. It would appear impossible, in the face of an enterprising and resourceful enemy, to prevent completely the operations of submarines and occasional commerce destroyers. But as long as these do not materially affect the maritime operations of the Allies it is proper to say that the latter control the Atlantic. There are varying degrees of sea control, and the more extensive the submarine and commerce destroying activities of the Central Powers in the Atlantic the less completely do the Allies control this sea area.

Theoretically, in times of peace at least, the seas are free to all, but even then certain areas are said to be potentially controlled by certain nations by virtue of their relatively superior sea power in these respective waters. For example, the superior sea power of Japan in Asiatic waters gives her in peace times what might be called potential control of those seas, and it may be assumed that this potential control increases the weight of her voice in international affairs of the Far East.

In times of war also the potential sea power of neutrals may easily prove important factors in this question of relative control of the seas between the belligerents. For example, suppose that the United States possessed a navy superior to the navies of the Allies; relatively speaking, between the Allies and the Central Powers, the former would still control the Atlantic Ocean, but the superior sea power of the United States would give this country a potential control of this ocean, which might affect the conduct of the maritime operations of all the belligerents, particularly in matters concerning the neutral rights of the United States.

International law is not very clearly codified, and it is natural that different nations should look at things from different angles. When great wars are going on potential sea power may prove especially valuable in securing respect for neutral rights.

Naval Losses to Date

Secrecy forms an important part of naval strategy and is favored by nature. The sea isolates and frequently swallows up all testimony of the fighting done. Hence, in the present war, the Admiralty announcements of both sides have been laconic. Notwithstanding this, however, there is plenty of evidence that the silent navies have not been idle. This is indicated by a summary of the losses sustained. It is reported that, in capital ships, Great Britain and her allies have lost four dreadnoughts and twelve predreadnoughts, while Germany and her allies have lost one dreadnought and three predreadnoughts. The Allies have lost seventeen armored cruisers and twelve light cruisers, against six armored cruisers and twenty-three light cruisers lost by the Central Powers. In other types the figures are less reliable, but the Allies have lost about twenty-seven destroyers, fifteen torpedo boats, twenty-four submarines, and twenty-eight converted cruisers and auxiliaries, while the Central Powers have lost about twenty-one destroyers, fourteen torpedo boats, between thirty and sixty submarines, and about forty-two converted cruisers and auxiliaries. In addition to these, both sides have lost numerous small craft, including air scouts, patrol boats, yachts, and mine-sweepers.

Of course, the primary purpose of battleships is to give battle, but it is to be borne in mind that sometimes there are important naval happenings without attending losses or even without fighting. The escape of the Goeben and Breslau may be cited as an example of conspicuous political significance.

The Goeben and Breslau

It is reported that during the first few days of the war the German battle cruiser Goeben and light cruiser Breslau bombarded the Algerian coast, sank a few ships in Bona Harbor, and then proceeded to Messina, arriving there on Aug. 5, 1914. From the pre-wartime disposition of forces it may be assumed that the Allies had in the Mediterranean in that vicinity numerous men-of-war, including very likely two or three British

battle cruisers, several fast light cruisers, and many destroyers. International law required that the German warships leave the neutral port of Messina within twenty-four hours. The chances for escape appeared rather dubious, and the following version of the manoeuvre, purported to be from the log of the Goeben, is of particular interest:

On Aug. 6, 1914, just before sailing from Messina the German commander issued these orders: "News about the enemy is uncertain. I presume his strength lies in the Adriatic and that he is watching both exits to the Messina Strait. Our object is to break through to the east and reach the Dardanelles. I want to create the impression that we intend to go to the Adriatic. In case I so succeeded I will veer round in the night and make for Cape Matapan, if possible throwing the enemy off our track."

As the ships—flags flying and music playing—were reaching the open sea the following wireless message from the Kaiser reached the Admiral: "His Majesty expects the Goeben and the Breslau to succeed in breaking through."

Shortly after leaving the harbor the English cruiser Gloucester appeared on the horizon. The English cruiser was emitting signals in three groups. The word "Mumfu" frequently occurred and it was clear that it referred to the Goeben. The wireless receivers interpreted the signal of the British cruiser as follows: "Goeben making for the Adriatic."

The German wireless officer argued thus: "I can jam him. If I break my waves against his perhaps I can confuse, hold up, destroy his messages. Shall I jam his wireless?" he asked the Admiral.

"Shall we fire?" asked the Commander.

"No," was the answer to both questions. No one apart from the staff understood the Admiral. This is how he argued, however: "This boat is evidently a patrol, intending to wireless our movements to the main British fleet. He shall save us, not ruin us. He shall do his work. We will neither fire at nor jam him. Let him wireless that the Germans are making for the Adriatic, whereas the Dardanelles is our object."

It was dark. The Breslau closed in. It was 10 o'clock in the evening; then came the order from the bridge: "Starboard; make for Cape Matapan."

The watching British cruiser saw the manoeuvre, but before she could wireless the news that the Germans were making for the east the following order flashed out from the Admiral: "Jam the wireless; jam it like the devil."

For hours the Germans were traveling eastward without obstacle, while the patrol boat tried to make itself understood in vain. Where did the error of our enemy lie? In England the excuse was advanced that the

Germans had acquired knowledge of the British secret wireless code and so deceived the latter into waiting. Is it worth while contradicting such stuff? The English should have waited before the Strait of Messina, and nowhere else. But so confident were they that the Goeben and Breslau must try and break through to the Adriatic in order to reach an Austrian port, that they thought it safe to wait in the Strait of Otranto, which is forty sea miles wide. So positive were they on this point that the thought of our making for the Dardanelles never seems to have occurred to them.

When the wireless messages of the Gloucester finally reached the British fleet it was too late. The German ships were en route for Constantinople.

That this episode caused the Allies considerable chagrin may well be imagined. A little later, apparently as an alternative to disarming and being interned, the Goeben and Breslau were sold by Germany to Turkey, a transaction without precedent and involving a question of international law. Sharp representations were made by the Allies to Turkey claiming that the latter had violated her neutrality and demanding immediate repatriation of the officers and crews. Turkey failed to comply with their demands, and it is reasonable to suppose that the presence of the two warships in Constantinople had considerable influence in persuading the Government to join Germany and Austria in the war.

As another example of the kind of naval activity frequently overlooked because unmarked by noteworthy fighting, the work of destroying the enemy's cable and wireless lines and safeguarding one's own, may be mentioned.

Cable and Wireless Stations

Means of transmitting information are most important factors in modern strategy. These are now so efficient that it is extremely difficult for commerce destroyers of the nation of weaker sea power to escape the net drawn about them by the stronger navies dominating the seas. That the German ships on foreign stations well realized the part wireless and cable would play in their final downfall is evidenced by some interesting attempts made by them to destroy wireless stations and cable stations.

An instance of this was the visit of the

Nürnberg and a German collier to the British cable station at Fanning Island in the mid-Pacific. The dull monotony of life on Fanning Island, scarcely more than a desert rock situated about four hundred miles south of the Hawaiian group, received a severe shock, when, on the morning of Sept. 7, the German cruiser Nürnberg paid its eminently informal call.

The cable employees were hard at work, when they were paralyzed to see a German officer at the door of the operating room with a revolver. "Take your hands off those keys, all of you!" he commanded. The men were made to line up against the wall while the sailors, with axes, smashed the delicate and costly instruments. Heavy charges of dynamite were planted and the cable was blown to atoms. In the meanwhile the collier grappled for the cable further out to sea with the intention of doing additional damage. Still another party planted guncotton and dynamite in the engine rooms, the boiler rooms, refrigerating plant, and in the dynamo rooms. The explosion from these charges was terrific, but no one was hurt. A search was then made by the officers, and a number of papers were taken which revealed that several valuable instruments were buried in reserve for just such contingencies, and that a quantity of hidden arms and ammunition existed, all of which were quickly uncovered and confiscated.

Later on the Nürnberg formed a part of Admiral Spee's squadron, which, after the victory off Coronel, attempted to raid the Falkland Islands in the same way as Fanning had been raided. But this time the British Navy did the surprising, and instead of a defenseless wireless station the Germans found Vice Admiral Sturdee on guard with a battle cruiser division. This superior force had just arrived from England the day before. The ensuing engagement resulted in the destruction of the German squadron.

Fate of the Emden

Another instance of cable attack, also unhappy in its results for the raiders, occurred in the Far East at the Cocos

Islands. The valiant Captain Muller of the *Emden* attempted one of his bogus-funnel ruses as a means of taking by storm the cable and wireless station on Keeling-Cocos Island. But the ruse was detected—and well ahead—by those in charge on shore, who promptly advised by wireless several British men-of-war near by. This led to the *Emden*'s ultimate doom. Moreover, a rush cable message was sent out to the Navy Office at Melbourne, and the alertness and intelligence shown by the cable and wireless Superintendents showed that they had well learned the lesson taught by the raid on Fanning Island. The *Emden* landing parties did, indeed, succeed in cutting two cables, but were too late. The intelligence which proved so fatal had already passed over the wires.

The story of the telegrapher's part in the sinking of the *Emden* is one of those records of ready wit and efficiency which make the best of romance. The guns of the *Sydney* sent the *Emden* on the rocks, but those guns would not have come into play had not the telegrapher at Cocos Island quickly recognized the enemy in all her disguise and dispatched the warning message throughout the world which brought the *Sydney* up in time. It is almost disturbing to think that before the boat's crew had landed from the *Emden* the warships were moving to the rescue and London was making arrangements for repairing the cable and wireless station.

The superior sea power of the Allies, however, has made German attempts on allied wireless and cable stations difficult, and, when successful, of only temporary embarrassment, while the overseas German stations, without ships to defend them, have passed permanently into the hands of the Allies.

It is thus seen that in estimating the work done by the belligerent navies, there is more testimony to be considered than that set forth in a mere table of ship losses.

Significance of Sea Control

The consideration of sea power and what control of the sea signifies opens the way to a general estimate of the relative sea power of the countries involved

in the European war, and their respective sea areas of potential control just before the war opened.

The Allies had superior sea power and consequent potential control in the Atlantic, Pacific, Indian Ocean, Mediterranean Sea, Black Sea, North Sea—in short, in all sea areas excepting those adjacent to the ports and naval bases of the Central Powers, namely, the Adriatic near Austria's ports, the North Sea and the Baltic adjacent to Germany's ports, and the Sea of Marmora, the Dardanelles, and the Bosphorus, under the control of Turkey.

Again, if a similar estimate of the situation at present is made, we find that there has been no material alteration. The fighting incident to changing the potential control into active control has followed a course quite to be expected, and maritime operations have been singularly free of surprises. The Allies made a notable attempt to wrest control of the Dardanelles, Sea of Marmora, and Bosphorus from Turkey and her allies, but it failed, and, with the possible exception of the battle off the Jutland Peninsula, there has been no other active struggle to alter the areas of sea control as practically determined by the pre-war-time disposition of sea power. This apportionment of the seas is manifestly disadvantageous to the Teutonic powers, but the sea power of the latter, the part their navies play, and the waters they control, are by no means negligible.

Plans of Warring Navies

Broadly speaking, Great Britain's plan of naval campaign at the outbreak of hostilities aimed, first, to destroy the enemy fleets with superior forces, or, failing in this, to confine the enemy fleets and restrict his trade by a system of distant blockades; second, to convert potential control of the high seas into active control by destroying, capturing, or bottling up enemy men-of-war operating on foreign stations.

On the other hand, the weaker German and Austrian navies instituted a different kind of campaign. The Teutonic powers planned, first, to operate the home fleets so as to protect their coast line and control as wide as possible sea

areas beyond, thereby preventing a close blockade and permitting commercial intercourse with neighboring neutral countries; second, to use naval vessels abroad so as to inflict greatest possible damage on their enemies before being cornered and destroyed by superior allied sea power or escaping to the shelter of home or friendly ports, as was the case when the Goeben and Breslau eluded numerous enemy ships in the Mediterranean and steamed safely through the Dardanelles to Constantinople; third, to interfere with and damage enemy commerce with submarines and commerce destroyers, such as the Möwe; and, fourth, the Teutonic powers planned to lessen the disparity of force between their navies and the superior navies of their enemies by so-called attritionative warfare, harassing and menacing the enemy in all possible ways, instituting raids with fast air and sea squadrons, attacking with mines and torpedoes, and watchfully seeking opportunity to fall upon a detached portion of the enemy fleet with a superior force.

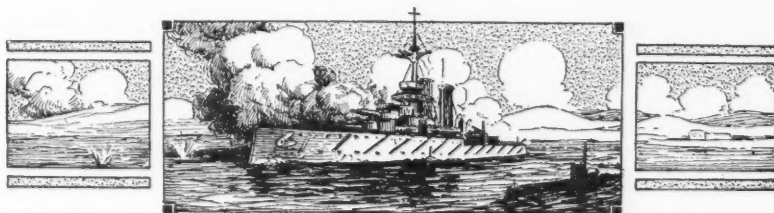
How have these plans worked out? What has Teutonic sea power accomplished? What has allied sea power accomplished?

Early in the war a German cruiser squadron under Vice Admiral Count von Spee defeated a British cruiser force under Admiral Sir Christopher Cradock

—but a month later this victorious squadron was destroyed by a superior British force off the Falkland Islands. German commerce destroyers, of which the Emden is a historic example, have done considerable damage to allied shipping. The exploits of submarines have astonished the world. The British shores have been raided both by air and sea attacks. In minor engagements as well as in the battle of Jutland, Germany, hitherto without traditions of the sea, has made a record which, ship for ship, places her fleet second to none.

But to what purpose? The superior naval power of the Allies has slowly but surely swept the German flag from off the seas. With no navy to protect them the German colonies have fallen one by one. On the other hand, the colonies of the Allies are secure, and a source of help and comfort to their mother countries. The seas are open highways to the Allies. Supplies and munitions of war constantly stream into their ports. Transports carry their troops all over the world. The fleets of the Central Powers are hemmed in comparatively close to their home shores. The grip of the blockading navies is ever tightening its hold.

[The next article of this series will appear in the February issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]



The Political Upheaval in Russia

By Isaac Don Levine

RUSSIA is at present emerging from one of the most vital crises in her tempestuous history. The long and bitter struggle between Russian bureaucracy and democracy is at a stage where all indications point to the latter's triumph. Indeed, the victories already attained by the people through their chosen representative—the Duma—and the definite consequences of these victories are absolutely without parallel in the annals of modern Russian political history.

The crisis in Russian national life, which reached its climax at the opening of the Imperial Duma and Council on Nov. 14, was the result of a series of events that occurred in the Slavic empire in recent months. The chief perpetrator of these events was Boris Sturmer, the deposed Prime Minister. A reactionary of the strongest dye, he brought Russia to the brink of revolution through his internal and foreign policies.

Sturmer, appointed to the Premiership in February, 1916, began his Ministerial career with a drive against the popular forces making headway in Russia. He inaugurated, first of all, a new crusade against the already muzzled press. The military censorship grew in rigidity steadily and extensively during his administration. The curbing of public opinion was not, however, the only step taken by the Premier in his campaign to deprive Russian democracy of the power it had already won in the direction of the nation's fortunes.

Thus, the appointment of extreme reactionaries to Cabinet posts was a policy of Sturmer calculated to have the same effect as the heavy press censorship. But, deplorable as these appointments were, they would not have resulted in profound dissatisfaction had they proved stable. But this they could not be. For the bureaucracy of Russia constituted in ordinary times a class of ignorant and inept tchinovniks. When Sturmer attempted

to return this class to its rôle of yore in the most critical period of human history he could not but fail miserably. For his bureaucrats demonstrated their defects so promptly that their dismissal soon became a necessity. As a result of this, some Ministries changed heads three or four times in the course of 1915.

These Ministerial changes provoked much feeling in the popular ranks, for they could bring nothing but harm to the interests of the nation, as they were impeding the Government's activities.

Duma's Prerogatives Threatened

Another serious cause of unrest was the Government's encroachment upon the prerogatives of the Duma. There is an article in the constitution of the Russian Parliament, known as Article 87, which permits the Government to enact laws without the help of the Duma. The Government has always made much use of this article, but never as much as in the last few months. Sturmer took advantage of the long intermission in the session of the Duma to pass some very obnoxious and revolting measures. One of these was more than a mere blow at democracy; it was a dangerous stab at the vitals of the Russian Nation.

What is the most vital thing in Russian national life at this moment? It is the resolute and unanimous intent to prosecute the war to a successful issue. Russian democracy patiently stood the suffering inflicted upon it by the bureaucrats for the sake of unity and victory. For it is in victory that the people of Russia see the promise of a new, regenerated country. The fight for internal political reformation has been postponed by all the radical elements in the empire in order to win the war. But the Government proved itself not very eager to labor for this object. The actions of Sturmer showed that the bureaucracy was more interested in losing than in winning the war.

The Russian people have not depended

on their Government to win the war. After the collapse that followed the invasion of Poland and Lithuania by the Teutons, Russian democracy rose to the succor of the army that had failed because of the Government's incompetence. Vast organizations have been created. The All-Russian Zemstvo Union, the Union of Municipalities, the War Industries Committee, and many other popular bodies are helping the War Ministry in its work of equipping, supplying, and caring for the army.

A Blow Bitterly Resented

It was at these vital organs that Premier Sturmer struck a blow which filled Russia with rage and rebellion. In April the Cabinet announced its decision to forbid national conferences and conventions of the various social organizations. The pretext for this decision was that these bodies were engaged in revolutionary activities. Prince Lvoff, the head of the All-Russian Zemstvo Union, thereupon addressed a protest to General Shuvayeff, War Minister, who was known to be in sympathy with the popular organizations.

"I have repeatedly pointed out to you," wrote Prince Lvoff in a recent note to the War Minister, "the abnormality and impossibility of the situation created for the organizations that are working for the interests of the State; for the Government, in spite of its distrust of these organizations, continues to lay new orders on the Zemstvo Union."

But the War Minister could not revoke the Cabinet's order. He could only refer the protests for the consideration of the Cabinet, which he did. It was the answer of the Cabinet to these protests that made Russia stand aghast, full of indignation.

A circular was issued by the Government on Oct. 4 which put all meetings, councils, conferences held by social bodies under the supervision of the police. When one remembers that the budget of the All-Russian Zemstvo Union alone had reached the colossal sum of two and a half billions in the first two years of its activities, and that the other organizations are also performing vast operations, frequently of a confidential charac-

ter, one can well imagine what it means to have the intricate and immense machinery of the social bodies under the constant supervision of the Russian police, which can interfere with, or entirely interrupt, its movement.

No other construction could have been put on this act of Sturmer than a desire to hamper the progress made by the people toward the winning of the war. In any event, this was the way Russia interpreted the Premier's act. Had this been the sole movement in the direction of contradicting the popular will and state of mind, events might have shaped themselves quite differently. But Sturmer already had to his credit at least three major deeds that served to enhance the suspicion with which his attitude toward the war and its objects was regarded throughout Russia.

Resignation of Sazonoff

The first of these three factors was the resignation of Sazonoff as Foreign Minister. This was forced by Sturmer, and it provoked a storm of indignation. For, as far as the determination of Russia to stick to the Allies and prosecute the war to the end goes, Sazonoff had the fullest confidence of all classes of the people. A stanch friend of England, Sazonoff was to the Russian people the only member in the Government in whose presence they saw the coming triumph of democracy in their own country. His retirement was, therefore, a deep wound to the Russian people.

But it was the consequence of his retirement that reverberated most profoundly in the Russian heart. For the portfolio of Foreign Minister was taken over by Premier Sturmer. This Russia could not bear calmly. The fact that Sturmer was a descendant of the Baltic Germans was in itself responsible for many disquieting reports. The fact that soon after Sturmer assumed office rumors of a separate peace between Russia and the Central Powers began to fill the world was portentous enough. The fact that there is known to exist a certain group in the Russian Court favoring the conclusion of such a peace was never lost sight of by those who guard and lead the various forces of popular Russia. But it

was necessary to witness such an act as the assumption of the office of Minister for Foreign Affairs by Sturmer in order to give form and substance to the wave of nervousness that seized the nation when it was faced by the possibility of a separate peace.

Appointment of Protopopoff

And then something happened that made the possibility look like a probability. This was the appointment of A. D. Protopopoff as Minister of the Interior. Protopopoff, a wealthy landlord and manufacturer, associated with certain Petrograd banks, was never a political leader in the Russian sense of the word. He is a politician in the American interpretation of this term, i. e., a man of ambition, a builder of a career, a seeker of the spectacular and vainglorious. Thanks to his shrewdness and affability he managed to become a member of the Duma and one of its Vice Presidents. He belonged to the Octobrist Party, which is the central group of the Progressive Bloc that comprises the majority of the Deputies. He got into the limelight, however, only last Summer, when he headed the Russian Parliamentary Delegation to Western Europe.

It was on his way home, while in Stockholm, that A. D. Protopopoff met in conference an attaché of the German Legation there. When this fact leaked out it created a sensation in Russia. True, Protopopoff apparently proved that the conference took place at the initiative of the German Ambassador in Sweden. But the fact of the conference was in itself an indictment. At least the Society of 1914, which aims to destroy all German influence and activity in Russia, and which includes among its members Russia's leading public men, so regarded it.

This society maintains an open blacklist. The name of any public man found guilty of relations with Germany is recorded there. The Propaganda and Commerce Committees of the society took up the charge of Germanophilism made in the press against Protopopoff, investigated them, and recommended the blacklisting of Protopopoff to the Executive Council. At this juncture, to the profound astonishment of the nation, Proto-

popoff was appointed Minister of the Interior. It was a perplexing, confusing, mysterious move on the part of Sturmer. It is no exaggeration to say that no Ministerial appointment in Russia for the last decade had been as bewildering to Russia as this. No more surprising appointment was ever made by the Czar.

Those who interpreted Protopopoff's entrance into the Cabinet as signifying a change for the better were soon to be disillusioned. He announced his program as that of Sturmer. He donned a gendarmery uniform which no Minister had worn, not even the arch-reactionaries Durnovo and Stolypin, since the days of von Ploehve, who was assassinated in 1904. Protopopoff turned away from the principles of the Progressive Bloc to which he belonged. He became an object of derision through these acts. He also became an object of suspicion when the Executive Council of the Society of 1914 decided at its meeting of Oct. 3, soon after Protopopoff's high appointment, to present before the general meeting of the society the recommendation to blacklist him. The effect of this decision on the nation was tremendous. The three most important posts in the empire, the Premiership and the Ministries of the Interior and of Foreign Affairs, were held by two men suspected of pro-Germanism.

The Problem of Poland

In addition to the Sazonoff and Protopopoff factors there arose one more condition of a nature to provoke the nation. This was the Government's attitude toward the Polish problem. Sturmer's original solution was one of the causes of Sazonoff's resignation. He proposed to give Poland only general self-government. Later the Cabinet decided that all announcements on the part of Russia in regard to its Polish program would be premature. Protopopoff, in the course of his first audience with the Czar, also advised postponement of action on the Polish question. Meanwhile, it became generally known that the Central Powers were preparing some kind of a political move in regard to Poland. Russia wanted to forestall any such move, but its Government did not; and when Germany and Austria jointly announced

POPE BENEDICT XV.



This Wartime Portrait of the Pope, With Its Face of Pain and
Mystery, Was Painted Recently by the French Artist Besnard.
It Has Attracted Worldwide Attention.

NOTABLE ITALIAN LEADERS



At Top: Duke of Aosta, Admiral Corsi (Minister of Marine), and the Duke of Abruzzi. Centre: General Alfieri, General Morrone (Minister of War), and General Dal'olio. At Bottom: Signor Orlando, Minister of Interior; General Morrone (Again), and Luigi Luzzatti, Noted Publicist and Former Minister.

(Root Newspaper Association.)

early in November the creation of a Polish Kingdom the effect on Russia was enormous. The opposition to the Government gained powerful impetus.

On top of all this, an economic condition arose that carried more danger with it to the Government than all the political factors combined. This was the chaos in the food supply organization of the country. Russia has been suffering from the high cost of living more than any other country in the world. Prices of some articles reached fabulous proportions. But when leather was selling at premiums the Russian turned to rags and wooden sandals to protect his feet. When kerosene was selling at prohibitive prices, tallow candles again became popular. Sugar was dispensed with by a large part of the population.

Faced by Starvation

But a time came when the country suddenly found itself without bread. A famine was threatening the nation in the Fall, and this in spite of the fact that Russia had hundreds of millions of surplus bushels of grain! Where was that vast surplus? It was not for sale. The peasants, the landlords, and, especially, speculators, held it back.

What was the reason for this? It was a clumsy attempt made by the Government to solve the bread problem by fixing prices. The prices fixed by the Government were too low. The owners of the bread would not sell it. Meanwhile, starvation was staring into the eyes of the nation.

To add to the confusion the Government empowered local officials with requisitionary powers for the army. As a result the chaos was increased. In one province, for instance, the Governor held back 50,000,000 bushels of grain. The army demanded of him only five of these millions, yet the rest was meantime out of reach of the market.

When the state of mind throughout the country reached a menacing degree, when the cry for a solution of the bread problem was raised from all the corners of the empire, the Government lost its head completely. The Minister of Agriculture and the Minister of the Interior were fighting for control of the food situation.

Protopopoff proposed several solutions, but he could not go ahead without the Cabinet's consent that the whole affair, which was in the hands of the Ministry of Agriculture, should pass into those of the Interior. It was at this stage that the Government's incompetence reached a revolting point, for the Cabinet could not make up its mind what to do with the food supply question. Vacillation from one plan to another consumed days and weeks. The exasperation of the nation knew no bounds.

Dark rumors of revolt began to fill the country. Only the fact that the Duma was to meet on Nov. 14, and that the leaders everywhere counseled patience till the Duma's meeting, controlled the passions of the excited nation. Here is what a leading deputy of the Duma, A. Kerensky, said on the eve of its opening:

Never before was the Duma's opening session preceded by such a stormy state of mind. Our immediate tasks are colossal. The difficulties of last year seem insignificant when compared with those of the present moment. The democratization of the Government is not a theoretical demand now, but an urgent political problem. The change is no longer dictated by the mind, but by the stomach.

Stormy Scenes in the Duma

Such was the state of affairs in Russia at the opening of the Duma. The political and economic conditions furnished the basis for the most concerted attack ever made in Russia against the Government. All factions and groups joined in it. Socialist and extreme reactionary united in denouncing the Government. By far the most remarkable phase of the crisis was this unprecedented union. The Black Hundreds, who were instrumental in the origination of pogroms and massacres a short time ago; the reactionary landlords and capitalists of the conservative parties, the moderate Octobrists, the liberal Constitutional Democrats, the radical Labor Party, and the Socialists, all presented one solid wall of opposition.

The President of the Duma, M. Rodzi-anko, a moderate progressive, made the first speech at the opening session. The speaker exposed the most important of all the Government's faults, making the striving for a separate peace his subject.

His allusions to it were accompanied by thunderous outbursts of applause. The Premier and the Cabinet left the Duma after Rodzianko's utterance. The allied Ambassadors were accorded a tremendous ovation at the speaker's reference to their countries. The attack on the Government was expressed in the following words by the President of the Duma:

The foremost duty of the Duma is to make a calm and thorough valuation of the situation, and to remove immediately that which ought not to be and which interferes with the nation's reaching its only marked aim. The war must be won at all costs and risks; this our national honor and national conscience demand. This not only our national safety but the welfare of the future generations demands. With the help of God we shall attain it. * * * But what are the paths leading to that goal? We all know them: Order within the country, faith in our powers, firmness of spirit, and the truth firmly stated here, within these walls.

The Government must learn from us what the country needs. In the course of a struggle and an exertion of national faculties the spirit of the country must not be dampened by unnecessary restrictions. The Government must not follow a path different from the people. With the confidence of the nation it must head the social forces in the march toward victory over the enemy along the path that harmonizes with the aspirations of the people. There is no other path to be followed. Any deviation from it means delaying success and postponing victory. * * *

In close union with our allies we wage the bloody conflict. * * * It is necessary to remember here that there is no discord among us. Our friendship is still developing and growing firmer. * * * There is no trick to which our enemy will not resort with the treacherous object of wrecking our alliance. In vain, however, are his efforts. In vain his hostile intrigues. Russia gave her word to fight in common with the Allies till complete and final victory is won. Russia will not betray her friends, and with contempt refuses any consideration of a separate peace. Russia will not be traitor to those who are fighting side by side with her sons for a great and just cause.

Attacks by Popular Leaders

But the voice of the people was yet to be heard from the tribune of the Duma. Rodzianko's diplomatic utterance lacked the bluntness and directness of the attacks that were to follow. The declaration of the Progressive Bloc, which consists of a majority of members, briefly touched upon all the misfortunes that have befallen Russia in the course of the Sturmer administration, and concluded

with the statement: "In the interests of victory the present Government must give place to men united by a single mind and ready to act with the support of the Duma and to carry out the Duma's program."

At the following session of the Duma Paul Miliukov, the leader of the Constitutional Democrats, in a brilliant speech indicted the Government for seeking a separate peace with Germany. The text of his speech, and of many others, has not been allowed to be published by the censorship. A scathing arraignment of the Government was also made by Shulgin, an eminent Conservative. In all the utterances made in the Duma one note was ever present: The necessity of the resignation of Sturmer. Another demand was the creation of a Cabinet having the confidence of the Duma, i. e., the setting up of a responsible Ministry.

With these two demands the Duma began a demonstration against the Government that was to last as long as it was in power. The fight between bureaucracy and democracy had thus narrowed down to a most spectacular contest between the Duma and the Prime Minister. While the Duma protested, the Government suppressed for publication most of what was said in the Duma. But there was one thing it could not suppress. That was the blank spaces created in the newspapers through the original suppressions. And these blank spaces told the nation "in white and black," as the Petrograd Dyon said, what was occurring in the capital.

The third day of the Duma's attack on the Government found Russia in suspense. Sturmer threatened to dissolve the Parliament. A united nation, strained to the utmost, watched with alarm for the next move. It came from an unexpected quarter, in an unexpected manner, dramatically sealing the fate of Sturmer as Premier.

General Shuvayeff's Speech

On Nov. 27 there suddenly appeared in the Duma the Ministers of War and Marine, General Shuvayeff and Admiral Grigorovitch. They announced that they had a statement to make. The War Minister said in part:

I consider it necessary to share with you some of the observations and ideas obtained from the period through which we are passing. The bloody and cruel war has now lasted twenty-seven months. It was not our beloved Emperor who desired and sought to start this war. We all know that neither our sovereign nor our valiant allies received the right response in the enemy camp to their efforts and endeavors to avert this universal conflagration. And no wonder! In this enemy camp for decades there was cultivated, raised, and strengthened the idea, expectation, hope, conviction of the necessity of conquering and capturing the dominant rôle among all nations by force of arms and violence, disregarding truth and justice. No wonder, also, because in this enemy camp the swords were sharpened and armaments prepared for decades, and the hour was only awaited when it would be possible to surprise the neighbors by falling upon them with the intent of crushing them. * * *

But calculations are one thing and life is another. * * * Each day brings our perfidious enemy nearer defeat. And to what change do we owe this? To the fact that the war is waged not only by the army but by the entire nation. This realization is daily permeating more and more the minds of the nation. [After illustrating with figures the accomplishments of the national efforts in the interests of the army, the speaker said:] This is what our common and co-operative effort gave us. Allow me to hope and ask for your help in the future in this common work for the equipment of our valiant army.

As the President of the Duma has said, we must win at all costs and risks. This is the demand of our country's welfare, to which everything else is subordinate. As an old soldier, I express my fullest conviction that we shall win. There is no power on earth that could vanquish the Russian Empire.

The Minister of Marine briefly stated to the Duma that he came there to support the War Minister in his declaration that "the nation's defense demanded our united and co-operative effort." The Duma never witnessed such a scene as that which followed the Ministers' speeches. A tremendous demonstration occurred. Roditchev, the Duma's golden-tongued orator, mounted the tribune and said:

It has rarely happened at our sessions that the necessary word has been said unexpectedly and weightily at the opportune moment. The representatives of the army tell us that in accordance with the wish of the Emperor and the will of the people our army will fight until the end. And that is precisely what we want, that is precisely why we are sitting here.

The salient fact about the event was

pointed out by Paul Miliukov to a newspaper correspondent. He said:

The War and Marine Ministers have declared themselves on the side of the Duma and the people. We, on our part, have said that the Duma is with the army and the people.

The Duma's Great Victory

The chief result of this historic moment in the life of Russia was that the army, hitherto the support of the bureaucracy, openly declared through its representatives its union with and support of the democracy. The Government was paralyzed. It was helpless without the army. The only thing to do was to give in. Sturmer resigned. "The Duma has won the first victory," said M. Adjemov, a leading Deputy. "It is as yet a far cry to the satisfaction of all our demands; but it is the first time in the history of Russia's Parliament that Government heads have openly given to it their moral support."

The Duma, therefore, caused the fall of the Prime Minister. This was the first case of its kind. But the Duma was not satisfied. It wanted a "responsible Ministry," one having the confidence of the people. It was therefore rather disappointed when Alexander Feodorovitch Trepoff, Minister of Communications, was promoted by the Czar to the post held by Sturmer. Trepoff is a man of much broader vision than his predecessor. The first thing he did was to unmuzzle the press. In his declaration in the Duma he definitely and firmly declared the Government's resolution to continue the war to the end.

Dardanelles to be Russian

Undoubtedly to allay the passions of the nation, Trepoff announced that by an agreement concluded in 1915, and subsequently adhered to by Italy, the Allies definitely established Russia's right to Constantinople and the Dardanelles. He also announced Russia's decision to grant full autonomy to Greater Poland. He said in part:

For more than a thousand years Russia has been reaching southward toward a free outlet on the open sea. This age-long dream, cherished in the hearts of the Russian people, is now ready for realization. * * *

From the beginning of the war, wishing

to spare human lives and sufferings, we and our allies did our utmost to restrain Turkey from mad participation in hostilities. Turkey received formal assurances guaranteeing her, in exchange for neutrality, the integrity of her territory and independence, and also conferring on her certain privileges and advantages. These efforts were vain. Turkey surreptitiously attacked us, and thus sealed her own doom.

We then concluded an agreement with our allies, which established in the most definite manner the right of Russia to the strait and Constantinople. Russians should know for what they are shedding blood, and, in accord with our allies, announcement is made today of this agreement from this tribune.

Absolute agreement on this point is firmly established among the Allies, and there is no doubt that after she has obtained sovereign possession of a free passage into the Mediterranean, Russia will grant freedom of navigation for the Rumanian flag, which now, not for the first time, floats in battle side by side with the flag of Russia.

I thought it my duty not to conceal from you the difficulties and sacrifices which we have still to endure in order to bring the present war to a victorious conclusion, but no difficulty and no sacrifice will stop Russia and her brave allies on the path of reconstruction and consolidation. A bright future will be the heritage of all nations fighting for a just and holy cause.

Our heroic troops and fleet are doing their great work without pause. The first task which falls on the rest of us is to devote all our strength and every hour of our time to productive work. Russia needs the common labor of every one, based on regular distribution, according to individual capability. It is the patriotic duty of every one not to undermine the country's power but to do his utmost to strengthen it. The history of the world has never known so decisive a moment. We must organize all the power of the nation and hurl it against the enemy. Nothing will resist that force.

The Government's immediate program must be directed to winning a complete and conclusive victory, cost what it may. The war must continue till German militarism is destroyed beyond all possibility of recrudescence in the early future. The war must be crowned by victory not only over the enemy without but the enemy within. The war has opened the eyes of the people, and they realize now that Russian industry, education, science, and art have been under the yoke of Germanism. * * *

Remember that, however cruel the enemy blows may be, the final victory is ours. It is surely approaching us. Let us march united to meet it.

The food crisis, the acute internal and foreign political questions, all that which was chiefly responsible for the political upheaval that shook Russia to its foun-

dations, was settled for the time being by the appointment of Trepoff. But the crisis is not past yet. A great political principle, around which Russia rallied in the critical days, is not yet settled. The issue as to whether Russia is to have a Ministry responsible to the Duma, i. e., whether Russia will become a true constitutional country with a parliamentary form of Government, is still at stake.

Imperial Council Converted

There is in Russia, besides the Duma, also an upper chamber, called the Imperial Council. Half of its members are appointed by the Czar from former Ministers and high technicians. The other half is chosen by the wealthy landlords and capitalists and by the educational institutions of the country. The Imperial Council was always supporting the Government in the past, disregarding the figures who were at the helm of it. Russia never looked for aid, relief, or initiative to come from that body.

The best measure of the tremendous political upheaval that Russia is undergoing can, therefore, be had from the fact that the Imperial Council, by an overwhelming majority, allied itself with the Duma. When the Council convened on Nov. 14 the Government was attacked there with unprecedented violence. The Polish Deputy Shebeko, in a brilliant speech that was met with stormy approval, attacked the Government for its vacillation and inaction in reference to the Polish problem. At one of the first sessions an interesting incident occurred. A Government bill providing for the reorganization of a certain technical institute was taken up. An amendment to the bill read that in accordance with the custom of sixty-five years Jews are not to be admitted to the institute. The Government representative defended this clause. When the Council voted on it, it was rejected by sixty-five against sixty-three.

The Imperial Council is the very foundation of the Government. The significance of its allying itself with the Duma is incalculable. Its support of such a radical demand as a "responsible Ministry" proves how profoundly Russia was affected by the bloodless revolution.

Austria's Change of Emperors

FRANCIS JOSEPH, Emperor of Austria-Hungary, died at 9 o'clock Tuesday evening, Nov. 21, 1916, at Schönbrunn. He was born Aug. 18, 1830, hence was in his 87th year when he died. He became Emperor Dec. 2, 1848, on the abdication of his uncle, Kaiser Ferdinand. His reign of sixty-eight years was the longest in duration of any European monarch in modern times. His health was normal, for one of his advanced years, almost to the end; he was able to attend to his official duties within twenty-four hours of the end, and was not taken to bed until a few hours before his death.

Archduke Charles Francis Joseph, his grandnephew, the eldest son of Archduke Otto, younger brother of the murdered Francis Ferdinand, whose death precipitated the war, succeeds to the throne. The new Emperor has taken the title Charles I. He was born Aug. 27, 1887, son of Princess Maria Josepha of Saxony. He attended the Vienna public schools, and in his youth shocked the sticklers of Court etiquette by his democratic manners. He married on Oct. 21, 1911, Princess Zita of the Bourbon House of Parma, one of a numerous family; two of her brothers are serving with the Belgian Army. She was only 19 when she married, and has borne two sons.

The new Emperor, on taking over the Government and confirming the present Premier, Dr. von Koerber, in his functions, issued a proclamation in which, referring to Francis Joseph, he said:

"I will continue to complete his work. I ascend his throne in a stormy time. Our aim has not yet been reached and the illusion of the enemy to throw down my monarchy and our allies is not yet broken. You know me to be in harmony with my peoples in my inflexible decision to continue the struggle until a

peace assuring the existence and development of the monarchy is obtained. I will do all in my power to banish as soon as possible the horrors and sacrifices of war and to reobtain peace as soon as the honor of our arms, the conditions of life of my countries and their allies and the defiance of our enemies will allow."

The German Emperor sent the following telegram after the death of the aged Emperor:

"We of the younger generation were accustomed to see in his venerable figure examples of the finest virtues of rulers and truly kingly devotion to duty. The German Empire loses in him a loyal ally. I personally lose a paternal and highly honored friend.

"God's inscrutable will has called him away in the middle of the greatest world war, and has not permitted him to see the result of the struggle and the return of peace. May God give him eternal rest, and to you strength to bear the burden which falls upon you at this grave time."

Emperor Charles replied:

"I thank you for the sympathy which you, dear friend, have shown, and for the genuine friendship which you manifested toward the dead Emperor, who held you in such high esteem. As your and his loyalty to the alliance stood firm as a rock in this world war, so shall it remain for us."

The von Koerber Ministry, which held over after the Emperor's death, resigned Dec. 12, 1916. No details of the cause are given out. It is assumed that the new Emperor intends to surround himself with a Cabinet not so completely under German influences. It is generally believed that Emperor Charles realizes that his empire will be threatened by German absorption or suzerainty after the war unless a more independent course is steered by him before the war ends.



Private Savings as a War Weapon

Address by Alexandre Ribot, French Minister of Finance,
in the Chamber of Deputies

[Delivered Nov. 9, 1916.]

I AM about to make known to the Chamber the general results of the second national defense loan. The task of collecting the subscriptions in all the villages and cities of France has been long and laborious, as will be understood when I say that we have opened books not only at the Treasury but at every Post Office, at every window of the Bank of France, and at all other banks, so that no office force should be deprived of the honor and satisfaction of contributing its mite to the national defense.

When the subscription closed—after the period of twenty-four days which we had allowed—the task became one of summing up the results; this also is a long undertaking, requiring about ten days. Only yesterday was I able to determine the practically final figures in the operation.

The results have been added up in the various provinces by the Sub-Treasury officials; in Paris by the Treasury Department, and also by the Bank of France, which lends us, in all these operations, an increasingly efficient aid. The Bank of France has not only taken subscriptions at its counter windows, it has also this time reported those taken in a certain number of other banks, and it has required a great deal of time to verify the results. The total which it announces is considerable — 3,890,000 francs, (\$778,000.) That is the contribu-

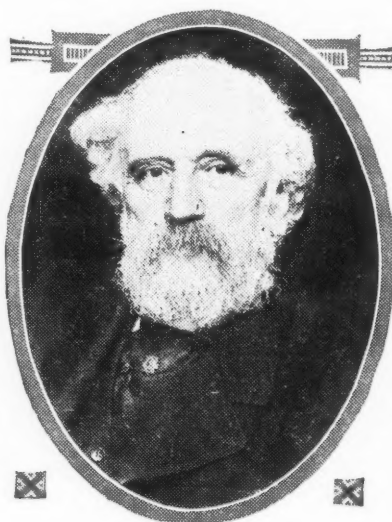
tion of the Bank of France to the loan. The public accountants and banks have furnished a similar amount. There has been a universal rivalry of zeal, but what concerns us now is the grand total.

We were accustomed to say that if this loan could bring us 10,000,000,000 francs we would consider it a success. I believe that is the general opinion. The 10,000,000,000 mark has been passed. At the present moment the total returns amount to 11,360,000,000 francs, (\$2,272,000,000!)

Of the annuity bonds (rentes) that have been subscribed for—about 568,000,000 francs—almost all are paid for already, only 4 or 5 per cent. being bonds on which payments will be made by degrees in accordance with the plan proposed by the Treasury. We

have allowed six months in which to pay subscriptions. The very small subscribers have made use of this privilege. They are the ones who have wished to draw upon their salaries at the end of the month for the 15 francs which were necessary to subscribe for a 5-franc annuity, and who will faithfully pay over the other installments by drawing upon their salaries in the coming months.

The fact that the paid-up subscriptions are in the vast majority shows that the subscribers wish to depend only upon economies already achieved, that they are not even discounting the economies of tomorrow, and that all idea of speculation



ALEXANDRE RIBOT
FRENCH MINISTER OF FINANCE

is excluded from the subscription just completed.

You will ask me—and you have the right to know—what proportion of the total sum collected is represented by hard cash, what proportion by bonds, and what by obligations. In the preceding loan the cash was 47 per cent. of the total; today it is 54½ per cent., or about 5,500,000,000 francs. The bonds are about 35 per cent., or almost 3,500,000,000 francs; the obligations are 9½ per cent., or 950,000,000 francs. Finally 7,400,000 francs in 3½ per cents, of which no great amount remains to be converted, have been employed in the subscription.

The proportion of cash varies according as the subscription is made in the provinces or in Paris, and according as it is made directly by the subscriber or through the medium of the banks. The explanation is easily given.

Drawing on Private Savings

When a subscriber comes to the pay window of a public accountant he usually brings money which he has taken out of his drawer reserved for domestic and personal savings. This is done especially by the small subscribers. They begin by opening their little private hoards. They find hidden away there a few coins that had been forgotten; thus, in the cash which we have received, we have found 160,000,000 francs of gold, which have come in very opportunely for the Bank of France at the moment when we have to make—and are very glad to make—shipments of gold to our friends and allies of England to meet the difficulties of foreign exchange.

Thus the small subscribers bring their savings, and bring them usually in cash, so that in the vaults of the General Treasuries—although we have not kept separate accounts of the results in the Sub-Treasuries, in the Treasury, and in the provincial banks—the proportion of money is 66 per cent. In Paris, at the Bank of France, it is only 47 per cent., because the subscriptions from the provinces and those from Paris have not been kept separate.

In the Parisian banks, which bring their subscriptions to the central vaults of the Treasury, the proportion falls to

40 per cent. The explanation is self-evident. When a subscriber has an account in a bank he brings first any savings which he has kept in his own possession, but completes his subscription by drawing on his account. The director of one of the large banks in Paris told me that one-half the funds were brought by the subscribers themselves, and that for the remainder they gave orders to turn over to the Treasury a sum drawn from their account.

The banks themselves have accounts with the Bank of France and thus have cash at their command, but they also have portfolios of Treasury bonds. In payment for subscriptions they turn over indifferently either bonds or cash.

This explains why in Paris, at the postal stations, where the smallest subscriptions are received, the proportion of cash has been the largest. There is no need, however, to exaggerate the interest we have in collecting cash rather than bonds. In the hands of the bearer the one is worth as much as the other, because a bond today, because of its short-time demandability, is really money. For the Treasury it is the same thing, because if the Treasury can use the money brought in today or tomorrow to make payments, it will be spent tomorrow in cashing the bonds deposited with it today. Consequently in both cases there are real and immediately usable funds placed at the disposal of the Treasury.

[Here a Deputy, Hubert Rouger, interrupted to ask whether the furnishers of war supplies were subscribing considerable sums. M. Ribot answered:]

Yes, certainly, the great firms that are working for the war have had the honor of making their contribution. I can say, since you give me the opportunity, that a rumor had been spread to the effect that the war profit tax would work special injury to the loan. I never believed it. I had too much confidence in the patriotism of my country. I can add that neither the discussions on fiscal questions nor the vote on the war profits tax diminished the nation's zeal and devotion to the accomplishment of the national duty.

You will not have failed to notice, gen-

tllemen, that the proportion of bonds is considerably smaller than one could have believed in advance. Before this loan, after deducting reimbursements and renewals, Frenchmen held Treasury bonds for a net sum of 15,000,000,000 francs; there came in for renewal in perpetual annuities only 3,500,000,000. The proportion is almost the same from one year to another: 25 per cent. last year, a little less this year, 23 per cent.

This proves that the National Defense bonds have obtained a success in this country which surpasses our highest hopes. Those who hold them consider them an investment that they are extremely loath to part with. Indeed, the Minister of Finance is not the man to call them a poor investment, with their 5 per cent. interest and almost complete convertibility.

I should prefer to see all these bonds transformed into perpetual annuities, (rentes.) I like perpetuity when it is a matter of national debts. But there is no need to worry over the preference which the public gives to the bonds, these bonds that have penetrated into every household, that are in all private boxes today, as well as in the large portfolios. These investments will be continued by renewals until the end of the war, and even after the war.

In England at the present hour the total of Treasury bonds amounts to 27,000,000,000 francs. We have not reached that point; before the present loan our total was 15,000,000,000. As 3,500,000,000 were liquidated in exchange for perpetual rentes, we have reached a proportion that can cause no uneasiness. We give 5 per cent. for these bonds, and we cannot give less. England gives 5½ per cent.; a month ago she was giving 6 per cent.

These bonds are the war treasure of France. If we had not had them at the beginning of the war we should have had all the trouble in the world to meet with long-term loans the ceaselessly increasing and now enormous needs of our national defense. As I said, 3,500,000,000 of bonds have been converted. As for the obligations, these have come in in a much smaller quantity—only to the amount to 950,000,000 francs.

The Army of Economizers

I cannot now ascertain exactly the number of subscribers, and I do not wish to submit figures that will be subject to revision. I can state, however, that the number is at least equal to that of last year. The army of economizers, that army which I salute every time I mount the tribune, remains as strong and compact, with its effectives renewed, perhaps, but as powerful as last year—3,100,000 or 3,200,000 persons.

In these circumstances I can state that this loan is truly a national loan, because everybody has wished to take part in it—the rich, because it was their most imperious duty, as well as the most modest and humble citizen. The fact that will show you how much we owe to small subscribers is this: that the average subscriptions for rentes does not exceed 185 francs; 110 francs in the provinces, a little more in Paris, naturally, but the average for all France is 185 francs.

It is therefore truly France's loan, a democratic loan, a national loan, as befits our great country, crowning it with a new honor before Europe and the whole world.

[After an analysis showing that the second loan had brought the Government a little more in actual liquid resources than did the first loan, M. Ribot continued:]

And remember that this loan was floated in a country some of whose departments are still occupied by the enemy; remember also that it was done after two years of war. Certain superficial observers, having thought they saw signs of weariness in the country, have sought to begin a campaign that would be criminal if it were not so senseless—a campaign consisting in saying to the peasants, whose robust good sense they underestimated, that the way to shorten the war was to refuse the National Government the means of defending the soil invaded by the enemy! * * * This campaign was immediately brought to nought by an outburst of good sense and indignation throughout the country.

Well, the country understood us, and

responded superbly. It rose en masse and brought us its savings. Oh, there are still reserves left, happily, for tomorrow, and we shall have to appeal to the country again; but this year, at least, it has given us the means to fight on until victory comes. * * *

All the societies, all creeds, all the organizations in the country, the Chambers of Commerce, the Chambers of Syndics, the unions, notably those of the workingmen and the railway employes, the mu-

tual benefit societies, the army, which has doubled the amount subscribed and the number of subscribers as compared with 1915—all France has sprung erect, all France has understood its duty and acted upon it, forgetting the quarrels of yesterday, putting aside all differences until tomorrow, because when the country is in danger there are neither parties nor bitter memories; there is only one thing, the flag of France, which must be defended, which must be carried to victory!

[French War Loan Cartoon]

A Powerful Weapon—the Peasant's Savings



"With kicks of boot and blows of stocking!"

France and the New Commandments

Address by Paul Deschanel

President of the French Chamber of Deputies and Member of the Académie Française

[Delivered in Paris, Oct. 26, 1916, at the annual meeting of all five academies of the Institute of France]

GENTLEMEN: The Germans have invaded us more than twenty times; five times since the Revolution. From this fact there arise certain essential duties for us, commandments of patriotism: to remain united; to know Germany better; to make France better known; never again to forget; to foresee.

Let us hearken to the voice of the trench and the tomb; what comes from there is a cry of love. Never has the French family been more united. Frenchmen were following different roads, but they have come together at the summit. The same devotion, the same ideal! The heroes facing death know that before the brief flame of life is extinguished in them it lights another, immortal. And the enemy does not comprehend that the thing which was tearing us apart is what is now uniting us: the passion for right.

France of St. Louis, of Joan of Arc, of St. Vincent de Paul, of Pascal; France of Rabelais, of Descartes, of Molière, of Voltaire; France of the Crusades and France of the Revolution, you are sacred to us, and your sons are equal in our hearts as they are in the face of peril. Those who do not discover the common peak under the same rays have not looked long enough or far enough.

Yes, this sublime array of youth goes to death as to a higher life. Will that higher life be the life of France? The

great silence of these deserts full of men, where the cannon alone speaks, will not hover above them forever. Controversy is the soul of progress. It is because it has been lacking in Germany that the world is on fire.

Let us glance at the live points. I do not know whether the phrase, "conflict of the classes," still expresses the meaning of those who formerly employed it, for since 1914 not a single voice in Germany has been raised against the invasion of Belgium and France; but never have men seen more clearly the grandeur of poverty, the obligations of wealth, the truth that souls are not measured by conditions. There are the things that one possesses and the things that one values, and the two comprise the whole patrimony

of a nation. The little white crosses which mark out battlefields from the Marne to the Seille and from the sea to the Vosges are terrible masters of equality. May they draw the living closer together!

The same spirit should lead us in the problem of Church and State. It is not enough to say that Governments have no authority in matters of dogma and that religions have no authority in matters of Government. The State and the Church, even separated, meet each other in various domains. May the spirit of wisdom everywhere drive out fanaticism! Ah, let us chase out of our language



PAUL DESCHANDEL

those old words, made for old ideas: intolerance, tolerance. What! Do we have to tolerate each other, endure each other? The right word is not tolerance, but respect.

The thought that does not respect faith is not truly free; and the faith that infringes upon liberty, in place of increasing its own power, loses it. He who scorns the religious forces exposes himself in politics to strange miscalculations and he who wishes to impose a religion alters its source.

If the virtues of today are those of tomorrow, victorious France will astonish the world with the swiftness of her upward flight, even as she has by the stubbornness of her resistance. Already our enemies are preparing the works of peace, just as they prepared the war beforehand; another assault, no less fierce. There, too, we must concentrate our efforts.

And why are careers isolated in our country? One of the forces of Germany is the accord of the universities and the armies, of the professors and officers. In France they are separate. If they had worked together, things might have taken a different course at times.

To Know Germany Better

Is the war, which has taught Frenchmen to know each other better, teaching them also to know Germany better? For two years an entire literature has attempted the task—a little late! At each new invasion France wakes up and cries: "What! It's Germany, the Germany of Schiller and Goethe!" The ignorance of one nation toward another baffles comprehension; one might think that each nation inhabited a different star.

It is the land that makes the man. Prussia, as M. Lavissee has said, is a German State founded outside of the German boundaries. Having no frontiers of its own, in order to live it has to attack. Either grow or perish. Who says Prussia, says conquest.

To save herself from anarchy Germany has had recourse to Prussia. Prussia has built her up. German unity has been made by war and cemented by conquest. Thus it comes that her strength has

driven Germany to the same acts as her weakness. To this fact she has adapted a theory: the chosen nation, born to command others. Germany is acting in the name of the Eternal. She must exterminate evil, and she does evil in order to bring about the good. Each philosopher, each historian, adds a new formula to the doctrine. Fichte said: "Allman," (Germany;) "all manhood." Hegel demands that the State shall be "venerated as a god," that it shall have absolute obedience; and he regards war as a moral necessity. Treitschke holds that the highest duty of the State is to develop its power, even at the expense of treaties. Nietzsche lauds selection by force and creates the "superman." Lamprecht invents the "tentacular State," whence we have Delbrück's law regarding naturalization; and the Generals, from Clausewitz to Bernhardi, teach their soldiers that the more ferocious a war is, the more humane it is, because it is so much shorter. A formidable arsenal of sophisms! Artillery no less dangerous than the other kind!

Universities, schools, pulpits of all denominations, administration, press, books, (700 a year on war alone,) poems, songs, public gatherings, farm leagues, industrial leagues, colonial societies, all pour into the people the idea, which becomes action, that everything is at the service of the State, that everything serves national ends. The army, the fleet, the bank, the factory, the counter, all unite in the same task. The "manifesto of the intellectuals," which revolted us, is, despite certain tardy reservations, what all thinking Germany teaches: an instruction born of profound racial instincts and confirmed by age-long traditions, save in the hours when Germany received light from Greece, from Italy, and from France.

German Passion for History

The German historians are political leaders. At the very time when they are communing with the past of the nation they are shaping its future. The German is a historical being. He lives with his gods and his ancestors. In them he admires and exalts himself. Hermann is as present to him as Hindenburg.

Verdun, in his eyes, is the greatest of our fortresses, because it traces its distinct existence back to the treaty which divided up the empire of Charlemagne. He is forever avenging himself for Louis XIV. and Napoleon. Forever there is the same conflict against the cursed civilization of the Latins, against the world of perdition. "We hate in our enemies," said Heinrich Heine, "that which is most essential, most deeply hidden in them—their thought." And always there are the same violences, the same crimes, more frightful, but the same.

The deeds of 1870 were only one stage. Everything indicated this: The harangues of the Emperor; the resounding praise that he gave in 1909 to a study by his Chief of Staff, General von Schlieffen, the great preparer of the war of 1914; "the Treaty of Frankfort is only a truce"; the speeches and writings of the Chancellors and Generals, the repeated provocations, the purely strategic railway lines toward Luxemburg and Belgium, the military laws of 1911, 1912, 1913, voted to the sound of applause in the Reichstag; the scholastic books. Everything was ready; nothing was wanting but the occasion, the pretext. A year before the Austrian ultimatum Theodor Schiemann wrote: "To have war with France, nothing more is needed than to let loose Austria against Serbia."

The invasion of Belgium, the burning of Louvain and Rheims, the assassination of Miss Cavell, the torpedoing of steamships, the murder of Jacquet, the execution of Captain Fryatt, the uprooting of the civil populations in our invaded provinces, the rallying of all the professors of law to justify these crimes—these things indicate a nation overcome by vertigo, like those hordes on the Yser which rushed forward in serried columns, drunk with ether. One divines above their heads the bloody virgins of Walhalla and the fierce divinities of their impenetrable forests. "Let insolence germinate," says Aeschylus in "The Persians"; "what grows up is the fruition of crime; one gathers a harvest of sorrows."

And now we hear repeated every day: "We must destroy German militarism,

the Prussian military caste." Yes, without doubt; and even in Germany the privileges, the abuses of that caste have called forth jeers, protests in the press, in fiction, in the theatre, in the Reichstag. But we know how the Saverne affair ended. It is the army that has created independence; it is the army that guarantees the power and wealth of the empire. Germany is proud of it, loves it, has made a cult of it. Her "intellectuals," better informed on that point than the stranger who judges others by himself, cry: "We resent it that the enemies of Germany dare to oppose German science to what they call Prussian militarism. The spirit of the army is the same as that of the nation."

The truth is that in Germany, as elsewhere, national sentiment has been strongest; it has carried all before it, rivalries of caste, of class, and of creed. To judge a nation aright one must look upon the whole of it at once, like the aviator who hovers above the ocean and sees currents which others cannot see.

Making France Better Known

If Frenchmen ought to know Germany better, they ought also to make France better known. "A wornout nation!" said Bismarck. "A degenerate people!" cried William II. Wornout, degenerate, the France of Pasteur, of Berthelot, of Henri Poincaré! A wornout nation, a degenerate people, the France of Renan and Taine, which for forty years, in all lines of thought, in poetry, philosophy, history, drama, fiction, criticism, has magnetized the minds of the world! "A degenerate nation," the nation that has produced at the same time illustrious musicians and pleiades of painters, sculptors, architects, engravers, such as the world had not seen since the Renaissance! "Worn out," the nation which, between two wars, has created the second largest colonial empire in the world! And tell me: In what country, in what epoch, have all the hopes and aspirations of mankind found finer orators?

Our institutions were supposed to be unworthy to endure, and yet they resist the most enormous upheaval of all the ages. The republic was not to be al-

lowed to conclude alliances, and yet France has never had more allies, or more powerful ones.

And mark the climax! Yes, even after Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, even after Valmy, Jemmappes, and Fleurus, France touches the highest peak; for Athenian civilization was founded on slavery, and the armies of the Revolution were restricted armies, while today it is all France that is fighting—for all men! Through her we are living the greatest life that men have ever lived, for what is the life of humanity if not an increase of justice?

At the same time that Germany was calumniating us she was attempting to swell out her own rôle and take our place. It is the picture of Overbeck at Frankfort over again, "The Triumph of Religion in the Arts," and the fresco of the "Schools of Philosophy" at the University of Bonn, from which France alone is absent.

Contemporary Germany pretends to supremacy in science. Now, most of the time Germany does not invent, she imitates; she utilizes the discoveries of others; there, too, she annexes. She has nothing that we need to envy in mathematics, in astronomy, in physics. Too often our chemists have let themselves be robbed by her. France is always first in medicine, in surgery, in physiology. In botany and zoology she has remained a fecund initiator. The most recent inventions—wireless telegraphy, the automobile—are daughters of her genius.

What has France done to vindicate her titles? Before the war, through the Alliance Française, through the offices of the universities and great schools, through the institutes of Florence, Madrid, Petrograd, London, we were beginning to defend ourselves. Since the coming of the war excellent labors of propaganda have been undertaken, in which you, my dear confrères, have done your part valiantly. * * *

Yes, we have here a new crusade in which we must mobilize all our forces. It is the struggle of two spirits, one of which assumes to dominate or absorb national consciousness, while the other wishes to assure the free expansion of

divers kinds of genius, regarding civilization as the collective product of both the great and the small nations.

The end of this dream of dictatorship will be like the end of other dreams of hegemony. In preceding centuries the greatest empires have collapsed one by one like gigantic monuments that could no longer support their own height. Once more the public right of Europe is about to be avenged. Force bears the same relation to right that the body bears to the mind: life circulates in the body, but it is the thought that governs.

The Duty of France

For us Frenchmen the prime affair is to protect the frontier. So long as the German armies are a few days' march from Paris, as they have been for forty-three years, the world will not be tranquil. It is a pity to evoke through our anger of today that of our scholars and writers of 1870 against the bombardment of the Cathedral and Library of Strassburg, of the Museum, the Val-de-Grace, the Salpêtrière. * * * Every time that the vulture, whose shadow has not ceased to darken France, digs its talons into our flesh there are the same cries, the same imprecations, the same oaths of vengeance. Alas! a few years later the sons no longer feel the sufferings of the fathers: the past becomes too heavy! "Generosity!" men murmur. Toward the enemy, perhaps, toward the enemy who goes on arming himself more heavily and boasts of it, but not toward those who have perished, nor toward those who, because of it, will perish!

Gentlemen, sixteen years ago, standing under this cupola, I had the honor to say to you: "Watch the Balkans. Study the basin of the Vardar. The duel between the Germans and the Slavs is threatening. France will be dragged into it. Let us be united, let us be ready!" And I recalled this thought of my predecessor, Edouard Hervé, that perhaps some day upon the Danube we could reconquer the Rhine. But France was then thinking of other things.

Perils of the Future

Will she understand the danger of tomorrow any better? Will she see clearly

the peril which Prussia, as mistress of a Germany and an Austria-Hungary, diminished perhaps, but welded together and forming a solid mass of 100,000,000 people, will be to permanent peace? May the foresight of our people equal their courage! And may Europe put itself on guard against an abusive extension of that principle of nationalities which Germany invokes when it serves her purpose and violates when it does not, and which, rigorously applied, would strangle us and cause such nations as Switzerland and Belgium to fly into pieces!

Will our school children tomorrow know the war of 1914 any better than their elders knew that of 1870? Will the education of our youth in every grade be a perpetual preparation for the nation's defense? A people whose military virtue declines is condemned to death. True, as against Germany we

shall continue to defend arbitration; if it should save us from even one war it would be sacred; but it presupposes a law, and then a force. To organize this force should be the care of all nations that do not wish to pass under the yoke. Meanwhile, to guarantee our rights, we and our allies should remain united and strong.

Every year Germany celebrates the feast of Sedan. I ask that France shall celebrate the memorable day of Aug. 4, 1914, when the accord of all her children was sealed, and also that she shall celebrate the immortal combats of the Marne and Verdun. The Cathedral of Rheims, with bleeding arms, curses the crime forever. To forget would be treason. But France will not forget this time; she can no longer forget; in their heroic appeal her dead have risen, they are standing, they are watching her!

Edmund Gosse's Description of Rheims as It Is Today

Mr. Gosse is one of the most charming of England's living masters of style, and he is at his best in an article in *The Fortnightly Review* entitled "Rheims Revisited," as indicated in the subjoined descriptions of that cathedral and city.

WHAT remains of the population of Rheims mainly consists of the poor inhabitants of the suburb of Flechambault. We cross the river, and then the Aisne à la Marne Canal; still little that is sensational. Here some windows broken; there a chimney chipped. Bent on producing his coup de théâtre, Captain Bloch-Laroque whirls us through a street or two, and abruptly, violently, we are in the desolate Place du Parvis, and draw up exactly opposite the great west front of the cathedral.

It is difficult to express without an appearance of affectation what the emotion is which this sudden sight produces. The cathedral in its present state has been described as a ghost, but that does not seem to me to be a happy similitude; the structure is too solid, the aspect too material for that. Say rather that it is a corpse. To gaze at it from the Place du Parvis is like being confronted with the

dead body of some beautiful great lady, whose presence has always sparkled before us in the splendor of her high vitality. Here she still is, but empty of life, shorn of all her vivacious glory, with no motion in her hands, no light in her hair; from being an object of majesty and pride reduced to be an object of anguish and pity. No longer would it seem extravagant to hear, as I was presently to hear from the lips of residents in Rheims, that when the humblest inhabitants of the outer suburbs crept in to see their cathedral burning, they wept and wrung their hands and wailed aloud. The queen of their desire was dead.

We recover our powers of calm observation, and as we gaze up at the vast façade towering above us we try to define the change in the general character of its appearance. Of this I can give no more exact idea than by saying that a cobweb seems to have been drawn over

the whole of it. There it is before us, colossal and superb, but we rub our eyes. What, we ask ourselves, can be the cause of this dimness, this immaterial look?—for the cathedral is “pinnacled,” indeed, but, as Shelley would say, “in the immense inane.” After some moments of reflection the cause of this cobwebbed effect flashes across the mind. In its pristine state the sculptured detail of the great west front, with its traceries and its pierced galleries, its tiers on tiers of triumphant saints and angels, was sharply drawn everywhere, with a profusion of lines all pure and clear. Now, no salient part has been actually removed, but the sculptured detail has been chipped and calcined, broken and stained, so that all the exquisite harmony of the lines is suppressed, veiled, made inexact and ineffective. It cannot be too distinctly explained, I think, to those who have not seen the Cathedral of Rheims that it is not precisely a ruin, but it is like some delicate object of art that rough children have been playing with. It retains its shape and substance, but it is dirtied and chipped and degraded.

With regard to the west front, moreover, I think it is only proper that the extent and character of the damage done should not be misstated. It is easy to pile up adjectives and swell the tragedy, which is dreadful enough without any such exaggeration. Let it be admitted at once that the City of Rheims presents scenes of mutilation, not so important, of course, but infinitely more extensive, than the west front. For one thing—and this was a great surprise to me—the sculptures around the three great doors were protected early in the siege by a most complete and ingenious system of sandbags. Behind this fortification I was permitted to squeeze myself, and, so far as I could judge, the statues which we know so well are in the condition—already considerably worn by time—in which they stood before the war. Several heads and hands are broken off, but—I speak without book—it seems to me that some of this damage was done already.

There can be no question that the most complete and searching damage to the

cathedral was caused by the fire and not by the projectiles as such. The action of the flames, which were driven by the draft caused by the holes in the roof and windows strongly against the exterior as well as the interior of the west front, has corroded the stone, which presents from outside a very odd hue, a sort of blanched red or dusty rust color, from which rains have washed away all the blackness of smoke or soot, and have left a dreadful livid pallor, very shocking to the eye. The result of this penetration of the calcining flames is most manifest in the statues which form the second row above the ground over the three great doors. Here the heat from within seems to have positively dislodged and thrust out many of the statues, and to have so far scaled the surface of the others that it has become difficult to distinguish the design in detail. On the sides of the right-hand doorway, and to some lesser degree elsewhere, there are curious shallow hollows, like the marks left by fossils detached from a chalk cliff, which I take to be the result of blows from shreds of German shells. * * *

At the first attack thirty bombs were seen to strike the cathedral in quick succession. These were principally effective on the upper part of the northern tower, the wall of which they smashed; a flying buttress was struck and broken; a part of the balustrade under the great rose window was crumpled up like cardboard; these and other injuries were noted as early as Sept. 17. Day by day the attack grew more intense and the evidence of its progress more vague and agitated. A shell penetrated the roof of the apse; three others exploded on the porch, destroying several statues and smashing half the glass of the great rose window and most of the windows of the gallery. Then followed the vindictive, and, to my mind, incomprehensible destruction of the Archbishop's Palace and of the adjacent Salle du Tau; and, finally, an inflammatory obus set fire to the straw which had been laid down in the nave for the German wounded, and the whole interior of the church incontinently roared like a furnace.

It is a mistake to think that the ca-

thedral is a ruin open to the sky. The vaulting, though its upper surface was destroyed, remains unbroken, and such gaps as the bombs created seem to have been temporarily filled up. The aspect of the interior is dry and neat. The progress of the fire can be traced by a dark line on the floor. The choir was invaded by it and the stalls were burned, but the flames just lapped the foot of the high altar without injuring it. Portions of the building which seem peculiarly open to the attacks of fire have escaped miraculously. The remarkable but not beautiful organ, a modern work, is untouched, and, if my memory serves me right, the famous horloge du choeur, which has marked the division of the sacred offices for generations, is intact. I was not able clearly to discover what has become of the innumerable works of art which made the interior of the cathedral a museum. First and foremost, of course, one's inquiries were made about the unsurpassed series of tapestries, which I had the pleasure of seeing wholly exhibited on Easter Sunday so long ago as 1882. One is assured that the best of these are safe in Paris; but undoubtedly some of them were burned.

Once more we emerged into the mournful Place du Parvis, which two little boys in blouses and one old woman seemed but to make more pathetically deserted. * * * Nothing that we have yet seen can compare for annihilation with the state of the archiepiscopal palace, which faces us when we turn our backs on the Lion d'Or. It is difficult to give a conception of the appearance of what was once this famous and sumptuous building of the late fifteenth century. There seems, at first, to be absolutely nothing on the site to see. A low edge of the base of the walls runs around four sides of a vast empty space; it is like a dustman's tray with a little collection of rubbish at each corner. This is what remains of the noble palace founded by Archbishop Briçonnet in 1498. * * *

Within comparatively recent years the wealth of Rheims has been concentrated in the Quartier de Cérés, where old houses have been ruthlessly removed to make room for substantial residences and

showy shops, which aimed at rivaling those of Paris itself. Here, in a relatively small compass, the wealth of Rheims was collected, and it is quite evident, when one examines this district, that the Germans deliberately and, it must be added, with devilish skill contrived the destruction of all that meant financial prosperity to the ancient city. Without wasting ammunition on the suburbs where the poor reside, or on either of the outlying portions of Rheims, they concentrated their fiery rain on the rectangle of streets where the rich merchants and the vine-growing millionaires had built their mansions and stored their possessions. There is nothing reckless in the Schrecklichkeit of the Huns.

The great artery which flows through Cérés from northeast to southwest is named in its centre the Rue des Tapisseries. This fine street, which becomes the Rue de Vesle, was incumbered with a frenzied population of civilians flying toward Paris on the evening of Sept. 17, 1914. A lady who took part in the flight, Mme. Isabelle Rimbaud, has recently given a most moving account of it. Under a gray sky loaded with rain, over a causeway deep in mud, amid the shrieks of children and the loud weeping of women, sounds which were drowned every few minutes by the roar of the bombardment, a huge mass of distracted civilians, elbowing one another, crushed by the passage of carts and carriages, strove to escape on to the road to Paris before the sinister night should completely hem them in.

It is curious to contrast this vision of a whirlwind of fugitives with the absolute silence which now reigns in this tissue of cross-streets. We wander along them, up and down, hither and thither, without sight of a human being; not a dog, not a cat prowls around these desolations. Not Pompeii itself—and the regular plan of the Quartier de Cérés has something Pompeiian in its character—not the Campanian city, which the cinders of Vesuvius buried eighteen hundred years ago, can be more desolate and silent and woebegone than the once so prosperous and wealthy centre of Rheims.

It is to be borne in mind that the wild

confusion of débris and ruin has long ago been removed from the streets themselves and has been heaped within the inclosure of the houses. German prisoners were set to this irksome task, and they have carried it out with the thoroughness of their race. The result is that the streets present an aspect of neatness that is almost dreadful, because it makes the destruction look so deliberate. There can now be no illusion that earthquake has done this thing.

Of course, different degrees of destruction exist. There are streets at the sides of which, as, for instance, in the Rue St. Pierre des Dames, it is almost difficult to know what the crumbling remains of brick and metal can ever have represented. Were these shops, or private houses, or institutions? It is impossible to be sure. The whole space so lately inhabited with elegance is turned into a vague species of Stony Arabia. There remains on my mental retina the vision of one horrible mountain of indescribable rubbish in the Quartier Béthany, out of the slope of which arises to its original height an isolated Baalbek fragment of wall, with its bedroom wall papers and even its window shutters still dolefully

existent, in spite of rain and sun. The squalid sights of which this is an example are poignant to a degree that baffles description.

But all the ruins are not of this kind. In the Rue de l'Université, which was the street of the most expensive and brilliant shops, the bombs have done their work with a most fantastic irregularity. What is not entirely smashed is here not hurt at all, and we have the discrepancy between huge gaping spaces of jagged nothingness and buildings that have hardly lost their pristine smartness. I could scarcely tear myself away from the grotesqueness of one enormous bon marché—I suppose the Magasin du Louvre of the Rémois—the whole interior of which had been gutted, with the exception of one or two counters and a staircase, and the exterior of which, a sort of grinning skeleton, still bears between its most shocking mutilations a large slab of black marble, absolutely unscarred and unscratched, on which we read in large gold lettering the ironic inscription, "Prix fixe absolue sans escompte." Alas! it will be long indeed before any enterprising customer tries to get "escompte" in a shop at Rheims!



Belgium's Agony

Protests From All the Neutral Governments Against Forcible Deportations

THE deportation of civilian Belgians into Germany for forced labor has evoked from neutral nations the first formal protests officially communicated to any of the belligerents since the beginning of the war.

The protest which the United States Government presented officially to the German Chancellor on Nov. 29 is as follows:

The Government of the United States has learned with the greatest concern and regret of the policy of the German Government to deport from Belgium a portion of the civilian population for the purpose of forcing them to labor in Germany, and is constrained to protest in a friendly spirit but most solemnly against this action, which is in contravention of all precedent and of those humane principles of international practice which have long been accepted and followed by civilized nations in their treatment of noncombatants in conquered territory.

Furthermore, the Government of the United States is convinced that the effect of this policy, if pursued, will be in all probability fatal to Belgian relief work, so humanely planned and so successfully carried out, a result which would be generally deplored, and which, it is assumed, would seriously embarrass the German Government.

Germany's Official Answer

Germany's answer to the American protest was dispatched on Dec. 11, and was made public through the German press on Dec. 13. The full text is as follows:

The Government of the United States of America has protested against the transportation of Belgian workingmen to Germany and against their compulsory employment for work, basing this on the view that these measures are in contravention of humane principles and of international practice as to the treatment of the population in occupied territory. The German Government thinks that the Government of the United States has been incorrectly informed regarding the cause and the execution of the measures, and, therefore, considers it appropriate first to explain the facts in detail.

In Belgium unemployment for a considerable time has been extending in a perplexing fashion among the industrial workingmen. This prevalence of unemployment has been

caused by the English policy of isolation, which has cut off Belgian industry from the importation of raw material and the exportation of manufactured goods, and has thus brought the greater part of Belgian industry to a standstill.

By this measure almost half of the workmen in Belgian factories, numbering altogether, in round figures, 1,200,000, were deprived of the possibility of earning a living, and many more than 500,000 Belgians who formerly supported themselves by industrial work were made dependent upon public relief. Adding the members of their families, this number is increased threefold, or, in round figures, 1,500,000 persons.

From the standpoint of Belgian economic right, upon which these unemployed inflict a heavy burden, as also from the standpoint of public order and public morals, which are most dangerously affected by general unemployment and the accompanying consequences, this situation makes it extremely desirable and urgent that efficient measures for improvement be taken. This necessity has been recognized and pointed out also by fair-minded Belgians for a long time.

Under such conditions the Governor General of Brussels on May 15, 1916, issued an order by which, upon persons enjoying public relief and declining without adequate reasons to accept or to continue to do work corresponding to their abilities, confinement or coercive labor was imposed.

Belgian industries being in a depressed condition, it was impossible to procure work for all the unemployed, or at least proper employment, within Belgium itself. The only thing possible, therefore, was to assign them to work in Germany, where a large number of Belgian workingmen had already voluntarily accepted work, were well fed, were receiving high wages and were enjoying far-reaching liberty of movement. For those workingmen, however, that did not support their families coercive labor was used.

These measures are completely in accordance with international law, for according to The Hague Convention relating to war on land, (Paragraph 43,) the occupying power is obliged to undertake the maintenance of public order and public life in occupied districts, and for this purpose, as far as the country's laws prove insufficient, to act by complementary orders. The maintenance of public order, without doubt, implies that able-bodied persons as far as possible are not to be thrown upon public charity, and, by idleness, become a public

calamity and nuisance, but that they must be held to work.

The order has been carried out with all possible consideration and without harshness. If isolated mistakes have happened in the selection of persons sent to Germany, and if, especially, the measure has been extended to persons where the conditions of the order of May 15, 1916, are not fulfilled, the cause has been that the Belgian authorities frequently failed to co-operate in drawing up a list of the unemployed or reported in incorrect fashion. Care has been taken that such mistakes shall be repaired as quickly as possible. For, above all, it shall be insisted that only such persons shall be sent to Germany as receive public assistance and find no work in Belgium, or refuse the work offered to them in Germany.

The Pope's Allocution

At a secret consistory at the Vatican on Dec. 4, 1916, the Pope is reported to have protested energetically against the deportations. The following allocution by the Pope was officially made public as bearing on the Belgian question:

It is well to recall, aside from the laws of God, that even if the law of man were obeyed at present, peace and prosperity would reign in Europe. If we neglect or disdain laws and authority, discord is the sure result. This is the highest social law. As a result of ignoring this law we see every principle of right violated in Europe, acts committed in defiance of the laws of God and man, peaceable citizens and even young boys taken from their homes to fight, amid tears of wives and mothers. We see open cities and defenseless inhabitants exposed to aerial attacks, and we see by land and sea nameless horrors. I cannot but deplore again these crimes and condemn all those by whom they are committed.

Holland's Protest

An impressive protest was received by the American press associations to be circulated throughout the United States as a specific "Appeal to the American People." It was sent by the Holland section of the League of Neutral States from Amsterdam, signed by President Niemeyer and Secretaries De la Faille and Walch. The text follows:

Your President has said that sooner or later a moment would come when the war would make the position of neutral nations unbearable. For us Hollanders that moment has arrived, not through our own sufferings, but because we cannot longer passively contemplate the ghastly suffering inflicted by Germany upon Belgium, our neighbor.

The eloquent protests of the Belgian Government and of the higher clergy have ac-

quainted you with the facts. A glance at the section of The Hague regulations of 1907 which deal with the law of war on land will make it obvious to you that the sole reason why the prohibition of this modern slave dealing was not included was because no delegate imagined it would ever be necessary.

Indeed, one must turn to the history of the early ages of long past centuries before international law existed to find a parallel to the enslaving of the Belgians. The Hague regulations stipulate that the "honor and rights of the family must be respected," but the German Government deliberately drags the Belgian families apart.

To us this cruelty is more vivid every day. Every day numbers of fugitives, in spite of the deadly electric wire which the Germans have erected along the frontier, succeed in escaping to the Netherlands. From them we learn the painful details of the unutterable despair of the women and children who are left behind and of the agonizing scenes which take place when husbands, brothers, and sons, dragged from their homes and women-folk, are packed into cattle and freight cars and thus transported to an unknown destination and to an unknown fate.

To put an end to this—to arrest this hellish scourge, which at this moment lacerates the whole of Northern France and Western Russia—there is but one way open, and that is collective action on the part of the neutral nations.

And for you, citizens of the mightiest of the neutral States, it is, in our opinion, the right and duty to take the leadership upon you. Only if you place yourselves at our head can any success crown our efforts. This tyranny is not to be borne in patience, and the neutral nations can no longer stand idly by while in Western Europe the most primitive laws of humanity, observed even by uncivilized races, are trampled under foot.

We appeal to you to urge your Government* to energetic and decisive action and to call upon other neutral nations to rally around you. That they will find faith and strength in your leadership is evidenced by the stream of messages expressive of sympathy and a desire to co-operate which have reached us from the moment we published our intention to make this appeal to the American people. We do not hesitate to take it upon ourselves to speak with firm conviction in the name of humanity, and our hope is firmly fixed on that sense of justice which has always formed one of the most cherished traditions of citizens of the United States.

Americans, we are convinced that you will not disappoint our expectations.

Formal protests were also lodged with Germany by Spain, Switzerland, and Holland.

Meanwhile the exile of the Belgians continued without interruption. It was stated on Dec. 5 that at Antwerp 4,000

men were under orders to present themselves every day at the railroad station. A report from Antwerp describes the procedure as follows:

When the men present themselves at the station, the reports say, the Germans make every effort to induce them to sign contracts for work, among the inducements being an offer of wages of 6 marks daily. Those failing to sign are told that they will receive only 3 marks and be forced to work in the camps. Married men who sign receive an advance of 40 marks and single men 20 marks and are allowed to go home for two or three days before starting. They also receive a promise that they will be sent to Liège or Longwy if they sign.

Despite strong pressure, most of the Belgians have refused to sign. Those presenting certificates of employment in general are released, but those without certificates are placed on trains and sent to Germany. More than 100 men employed in one factory were sent to Germany in one contingent, some of the workers being more than 50 years of age.

In the provinces the men are placed in single file; those selected are told to go to the right, and those released are told to go to the left. Many were so stunned or bewildered that they failed to obey the directions, but, as their cards contained no indication that they were released, if they happened to turn to the right they went to Germany.

In general, the German soldiers treated the men well, but the rulings in most cases were made arbitrarily, although some were released as a result of intervention by Burgomasters and employers, who gave assurances that the men were regularly employed. The Germans apparently have attempted to confine the deportees to young unmarried or unemployed men, but toward the end of the line, when there was some indication that the total required in a certain district would not be reached, factory workers were taken. When the employers protested, they were told that such action would have been unnecessary if the Burgomasters had turned in lists of unemployed.

Seemingly the Germans are making efforts to obtain skilled labor. In virtually every case in which the relief organization has been compelled to intervene to obtain the release of its workers it has developed that they were skilled. Railroad workers are particularly liable to be ordered deported.

A small number of workers, holding cards showing they are in the service of the Relief Commission, have been taken, and it is reported that these cases have been the subject of a protest by the neutral Ministers at Brussels.

It is reported that it is the intention of Germany to deport 400,000 or 500,000 Belgians, and that up to the end of December nearly 100,000 had been transported.

Official Text of Belgium's Protest Against Deportations

Following is the full text of the Belgian Government's protest to the neutral powers against Germany's forcible deportation of civilians:

THE Belgian Government has already, on several occasions, denounced to the neutral powers the violations of the rights of man and the principles of humanity of which the German authorities in Belgium have been guilty.

The latest information received from the occupied part of Belgium confirms some new facts which the Government of the King had refused to believe. They will prove revolting to the public conscience in any country where right and honor are respected.

A decree, dated from the German General Headquarters on Oct. 3 last, subjected to forced labor all able-bodied Belgians who, either from unemployment or from any other reason, were dependent on others for their maintenance. The individuals to whom this decree applied might be obliged to work outside the locality where they reside—that is to say, deported into Germany in a state of semi-slavery.

The great difficulty of communication with occupied Belgium has prevented the Government of the King from receiving all the information it wished to obtain on the manner in which this order of Oct. 3 was applied.

The Government knows now, however, from a reliable source, that the deportation of the able-bodied men is proceeding en masse. Rich or poor, if they are unoccupied or out of work, they are inexorably seized. On Oct. 24 last more than 15,000 men had already been taken in the two provinces of Belgian Flanders alone. Whole trainloads of these miserable people have been going toward Germany. Others have been sent to the invaded departments of France. The men, crowded in open trucks, exposed to wind and weather, were in a most miserable condition. Their morale, in spite of cold and privation, was not shaken, and even while suffering this new form of oppression they went away singing patriotic songs.

The raids have taken place at Courtrai, Alost, Termonde, Bruges, Ghent, Mons, and in numerous rural and industrial communes. The men were assembled, examined like cattle, and those found strongest sent away to unknown destinations.

At Bruges, the Burgomaster, an old man of 80, who since the beginning of the occupation has given an example of noble patriotism, has been deposed for having refused to help the German military administration in its revolting task. The town was fined 100,000 marks (\$25,000) for each day's delay in the enrollment of the victims.

May Extend to All Belgium

Until Oct. 24 the deportations took place, chiefly in the "zone d'étapes," (close to the German front.) In the rest of the country the Civil Government no doubt hesitated before taking a step which violates not only the spirit and the letter of The Hague Convention but also the solemn promise made to the population by means of placards on July 25, 1915, that no acts contrary to their patriotic feelings would be required of them.

However, the Government of the King, having learned that the registration of unemployed is now going on in all the occupied territory, has reason to fear that the horrors of deportation will shortly extend to all the provinces.

The Cologne Gazette, in an article which the newspapers published in Belgium have been ordered to translate, tries to justify this iniquitous measure. It enlarges complacently on the dangers of idleness to which many workmen are exposed, and throws the responsibility for this on England, who prevents the importation of raw materials into Belgium. The organ of the German Government pretends also to legitimize the forced labor on the grounds that Belgians will only be employed in quarries, chalk pits, and other industries having no connection with the war.

This last argument is valueless, as we know what an important part is played by the products of quarries and chalk pits in the strengthening of trenches and fortifications with cement.

To the pretensions of Germany to repudiate all responsibility for the lamentable state of the Belgian working classes we reply that work would not be lacking for them if the invader, primarily responsible for this situation by his aggression, had not disorganized industry, taken away raw materials, oils, and metals for his own use, requisitioned a quantity of machinery and tools, threatened to take away even the driving bands, of which a detailed list has already been made. The occupier has besides sworn to consummate the ruin of the Belgian metal and glass industries by prohibitive export taxes on products sold in Holland (the only market still open to

Belgium) in order to prevent competition with German goods.

The Belgian workman has always been well known for his hard-working quality. If for two years he has too often been out of work, it is because the only work open to him was that offered by the invader. His patriotism prevented him from accepting it because, in doing so, he would indirectly have helped in the war waged against his own country.

"Objects of the Invader"

The invader, by means of his barbarous system of deportations, has a double object. First, to terrorize the population, to bring families to despair, and to force the workers to lend their aid to the German occupation. This manoeuvre is facilitated by the announcement that all those who receive public assistance for their maintenance will be subjected to forced labor. The workman who, out of devotion to his country, refuses to serve the enemy will know henceforth that he exposes himself to exile and slavery. Deportation is, therefore, a coercive measure in order to constrain the workman, against his conscience, to accept the offers of work which he refused.

The second object of the German authorities is to replace by Belgians some German workmen, who thus become available to fill up the gaps at the front. Men are required at any price. If it were not so, if the object were really to prevent idleness among our workmen, why are they not employed on works of public utility near their families and their homes? Not only has this not been done, but we hear from a reliable source that employed men have been taken away and others deliberately thrown out of employment so that an excuse might be made to requisition their labor.

According to the German press itself, a fairly high salary is offered to the workers if they consent to volunteer, and consequently to undertake any kind of work which might be asked of them. The idea, then, is clearly to bring these miserable people to lend a direct help in the war, in the hope of improving their lot. The deported Belgian has to choose between famine and treason.

The Government of the King denounces to all civilized nations these unworthy proceedings, which shamelessly ignore the laws of humanity as well as the rules and conventions of war with regard to the rights of an occupying power.

The Government protests energetically against the application of a system which the vain explanation of the enemy cannot prevent from being branded as a new and worse form of slavery and as the crowning dishonor of the German occupation, which pretends to preserve so jealously the rights of the Flemish population.

An American Reply to General von Bissing

By James Gustavus Whiteley

Secretary General Central Committee of the Belgian Relief Fund

THE brutality of Germany is equaled only by her hypocrisy. Germany's brutality in sending thousands of Belgians into slavery will never be forgiven by the civilized world, but Germany's sanctimonious pretense that she has enslaved these innocent people "for their own good and for the good of Belgium" only adds hypocrisy to crime.

A wolf who lives boldly by his depredations may be entitled to a certain amount of consideration, but a "wolf in sheep's clothing"—a wolf who pretends to act as the shepherd of the flock—receives only contempt.

Germany has invaded and ravaged Belgium. She has massacred men, women, and children. She has wantonly destroyed towns, villages, and farms. She has taken the machinery out of the factories and sequestered the large stocks of raw materials. She has taken possession of the trunk-line railways for military purposes and has dug up and removed small railways which formerly served Belgian internal commerce. She has imposed heavy taxes on the whole country and exacted innumerable additional fines from local communities. She has by force taken large sums out of the Belgian banks. She has paralyzed all Belgian commerce, which is not only deprived of its factories and raw materials but also of its means of communication. Even the telephones are reserved for "military purposes only." Farmers cannot gather their crops without a permit, they can feed their cattle only with a specified quantity of fodder. The goods of the merchant and the farmer are under German control. They can be sold only by permission of the German authorities, and at prices fixed arbitrarily by those authorities. Having destroyed practically all work in Belgium, the German Government asks why the Belgians are idle, and sends them in droves as slaves into Germany to relieve German workmen who may be used as food for powder in the trenches.

Germany is now making a hypocritical and vain attempt to blind the world to this great crime. General von Bissing has caused a long "interview" to be cabled to America, calling his action a "blessing" to the Belgian people. Writers who have visited Belgium under the chaperonage of German officers have been induced to contribute articles telling of the "beneficent rule of Germany" and pretending that the Belgians are a backward people, whom the Germans are trying to uplift by superior Kultur.

These "inspired writers" pretend that the Belgians are idle, illiterate, destitute, dangerous to public safety, and likely to become a charge on public charity. Therefore, they should be sent into slavery in Germany.

That the Belgians are unemployed is due to the action of Germany in destroying the trade of a nation which was recognized as one of the most industrious in the world, and whose port of Antwerp rivaled the German port of Hamburg.

That the Belgians are illiterate is absolutely untrue. In education, Belgium stands high among the nations of Europe. According to statistics at hand, illiterates in Belgium are about 12 per cent. of the population, (approximately the same as in France.) If Germany wishes to be the schoolmaster of the world she might well begin with her friends—for example, Austria—where the illiteracy is over 18 per cent., or Bulgaria, where it is 65 per cent., or Turkey, where nobody seems able to calculate it.

To improve the education of the Belgians, Germany has deliberately destroyed their largest university (Louvain) and has taken from the University of Liège its scientific equipment. On the other hand, the German Government, in a vain effort to win the sympathy of the Flemish population and to cause dissension between the Flemish and the French speaking people, has offered to establish a Flemish university at Ghent. This

proffered bribe has been scorned by the Flemish population; distinguished Belgian scholars like Professor Frederick and Professor Pirenne, who refused to become members of the Faculty, have been deported to Germany.

That many Belgians are destitute is the result of the "blessings" conferred by German rule. Germany "blessed" the Belgians with fire and sword; she "blessed" them by confiscating their property and by paralyzing their industries; she "blessed" the whole country with a war tax at the rate of \$96,000,000 a year; she "blessed" towns and villages by additional exactions; she "blessed" individuals by fines for alleged offenses; she "blessed" the Belgian banks by forced loans, the most recent one being about \$150,000,000. Had some of these "blessings" been omitted the Belgians would not now be in such destitution.

General von Bissing pretended that the unemployed constituted a danger to public safety. Cardinal Mercier told him that he (von Bissing) well knew that there existed no such danger. Von

Bissing then abandoned this excuse and set up another. He claimed that the unemployed had been abandoned by the Belgian Government and would become a burden on public charity. General von Bissing knows well that Germany does not contribute one penny to support the destitute in Belgium. If the Belgians had depended on German charity they would have starved long ago. It has required about \$75,000,000 a year to relieve the destitution which Germany has brought upon the Belgians. Of this amount generous Americans and other neutrals, together with natives of the allied countries, have contributed about one-fifth; the remainder (approximately \$60,000,000 a year) has been supplied by the Belgian Government.

For two years Germany has tried in vain to break the spirit of the Belgians. She has despoiled and murdered. She now seeks to grind the people to powder and scatter them as slaves.

Will the civilized world stand by and see a brave people perish from the earth?

Robbing Belgium by Means of Fines

A neutral correspondent of The London Times thus describes the method by which Belgian cities and individuals are being robbed by the invaders:

THE announcement that the Aldermen and City Councilors of Brussels and Antwerp have been arrested and fined for not obeying an order of the Governor General indicates to what extremes the oppressors will go in their campaign of terrorism. This arbitrary proceeding has a double object; ostensibly the intention is to obtain a list of poor Belgians of military age with a view to deportation, but the extortion of money from richer citizens of any age is also aimed at. The Germans are determined to extract the life blood of the country to the very last drop.

Since the Burgomaster of Brussels, M. Adolphe Max, was carried off to prison at Celle-Schloss, in Hanover, the duties of First Magistrate have been discharged

by M. Maurice Lemonnier, the Senior Sheriff, whose wife a short time ago received notification that she had been fined \$200. No particulars of the offense charged against her were given. In these circumstances she refused to pay, whereupon furniture and ornaments to the value of \$240 were taken from her house and publicly sold. It was not until after this sale that Mme. Lemonnier was informed that she had been condemned for being in possession of a forbidden publication. Some spy—and the city is swarming with them—had supplied the evidence, and she was not allowed any opportunity of refuting the accusation.

The punishment of Burgomasters and local officials for failing to furnish lists of unemployed workmen is another sample of German "justice." Men of military age are required rather than the mere unemployed, who are so numerous

at the present time that it is difficult to keep count of them. The Belgians have always been such industrious and provident people that there was little poverty before the war; there are no "poor rates" in the country, and workhouses on the English system do not exist. It was not until stages of extreme distress were reached that a Belgian would allow his name to be put upon the list of the "assistance publique."

The Germans have insisted upon the municipal authorities maintaining their usual administration, because it facilitates a scheme of daylight robbery. Not only can they fine Burgomasters and their subordinates for failure to perform impossible tasks, but they can ascertain the financial status of individuals upon whom levies can be made on the slightest provocation or pretense.

In the early days of the war millions of francs were demanded from each town that was entered, and a campaign of plunder and insult has been carried on ever since. The town of Tournai has just been called upon to pay \$50,000 for refusing to furnish a list of unemployed.

There is hardly a commune within the occupied territory that has not had its exchequer depleted by iniquitous fines. Brussels, Antwerp, and Ghent have been drained dry; only a few weeks ago the town of Courtrai was fined \$60,000 because a telegraph wire was broken by a storm, and the Commissaire of the arrondissement in which the mishap occurred was locked up for ten days. Tradesmen and private individuals are now being picked out for extortion. At Gembloux a rich merchant was fined \$30,000 for some offense in connection with the sale of sugar. Several Antwerp firms have been fined \$5,000 each, and \$500 fines are becoming quite common for most trivial offenses. A market woman who refused to sell vegetables to a German was fined \$200. Any one heard singing or whistling "La Brabançonne" or "The Lion of Flanders" is arrested, and if the culprit cannot pay a fine he is put into prison.

The German police in Brussels have been greatly increased since Nov. 3, and

on the day of King Albert's fête patronale a raid was made on houses in which it was suspected patriotic celebrations were taking place. Any one found in possession of the Belgian colors, or exhibiting a portrait of the King or Queen, was fined according to his means. Money is being dragged out of the people on the slightest pretense. There is hardly a family some member of which has not been caught in a trap and forced to pay.

Attempts are made to inveigle people who send parcels to prisoners of war, for it is considered that a better use can be found for their money; and permission to send these parcels, which have to go through the Minister of War in Berlin, is now only given to those who avow themselves friendly to the German cause.

I hear that it is no longer permitted to send sick and delicate children into Holland for the benefit of their health. Formerly large parties of these children were conducted to the frontier, where they were met by nuns or benevolent ladies, who took the children to their homes. After a time restrictions were imposed, as it was imagined that the children carried messages from their relatives in Belgium, and it was ordered that they should be housed in institutions approved of by the Germans, where they were under observation. Going and coming back the children were searched at Esschen and often had to submit to harsh interrogations.

The good people of Holland can bear witness to the physical improvement of the children who made these visits; they all arrived with pale and sunken cheeks, but soon became plump and rosy after a course of good food and careful treatment. Now these trips have been stopped and the rate of mortality among children in Belgium is likely to increase rapidly. Tuberculosis is rampant in many parts, and nearly all the babies born this year are sickly and rickety. In the districts where German soldiers are or have been quartered in any number disease is very prevalent among the women and young girls. These afflictions are adding to the horrors of the situation.

The Heroic Battle of the Yser

A Belgian Official Study

The Belgian Government at Havre commemorated the second anniversary of the battle of the Yser on Oct. 30. At the same time the Paris press gave much space to a historic study of that battle written by Commandant Willy Breton, an officer of the Belgian General Staff. The essential passages of that brochure are translated in the course of the subjoined article.

THE battle of the Yser was the most tragic page in the glorious history which the soldiers of King Albert have been making in the last two years and a half. The Yser was an epic, the supreme effort of a people fighting against destiny; it was the gesture of a nation that refused to die.

At Liège, where a few thousand men held in check 125,000 Germans, laying low the Kaiser's battalions in entire ranks in the open spaces between the forts, the fighters were fired by the intoxication of the first encounter, and they knew that those who survived could fall back upon the field army protecting Central Belgium; besides, there was the firm hope of prompt aid from France and England. Even at Antwerp, though the defenders could not long hold out against the heavy German guns, they still fought with confidence in a swift revenge. In spite of the occupation of Brussels, a large part of Belgium still remained free; the kingdom still existed, with its own organization; Belgium was still there, torn and panting, but alive and heroic.

The Yser, on the contrary, was the sombre battle that one fights with rage in the heart and despair in the soul; a battle in which every soldier had the profound feeling that he must conquer by a miracle of energy or resign himself to die.

From the 16th to the 31st of October,

1914, it was the destiny of Belgium that was at stake on the banks of the little river whose name was then made famous. The Belgian field army had escaped from the perilous trap at Antwerp across the plains of Flanders. In the fogs of

Autumn, along roads choked with carriages and transport trucks, harassed by the enemy, the soldiers of King Albert had been marching for days and nights. And all at once, having reached the line of the Yser on the 16th of October, this army, worn out with two and a half months of hard fighting, reduced, isolated, its artillery caissons half empty, made a stand against the enemy and prepared for a supreme struggle. It was a matter of defending the last shred of territory, the poor

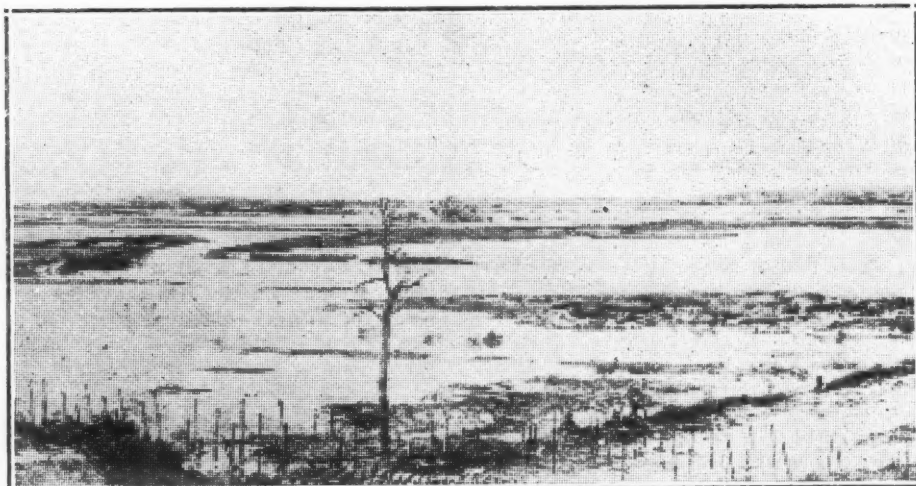
corner of soil that alone remained of independent Belgium—four old cities and a few humble villages.

What was the strength of that army, and what was its task? Commandant Willy Breton of the Belgian General Staff has given the answer in a historical study supported by official documents.

"The field army," says General Breton, "at the moment when it established itself on the Yser, was reduced to 80,000 men, and had only 48,000 rifles, with 350 cannon of 75-millimeter calibre and 24 mortars of 150-millimeter size. There remained, besides, only such supplies of munitions as had been able to accom-



KING ALBERT OF BELGIUM



THE INUNDATED REGION OF THE YSER, WHERE BELGIANS WON THEIR GREATEST VICTORY BY OPENING THE DIKES TWO YEARS AGO

pany the army, just enough to fight a last hard battle, but impossible in any event to replenish.

"Deprived of a great part of their equipment, clad in uniforms covered with clay and mud, the men appeared to have reached the limit of human endurance and to be incapable of making another effort, however brief. It was at this crisis that the King addressed to the army his admirable Order of the Day. Appealing to the tenacity and courage of his soldiers he stated that it was necessary to continue the struggle until they had joined the armies of the Allies, with which connections had just been established.

"In the positions where I shall place you," he commanded, "let your eyes gaze forward alone, and regard as a traitor to his country any one who shall pronounce the word retreat unless the formal order has been given!"

"The King did not disguise the fact that a supreme struggle was at hand. What he demanded of his troops was that they should fight to the death.

"A mass of 150,000 Germans, formed of new troops, and supported by at least 500 cannon of all calibres, including the heavy pieces that had just smashed the defenses of Antwerp, was about to break itself against this Belgian Army, which was clinging to the last shred of its

native soil, physically overmatched, but animated by the purest spirit of sacrifice and devotion. Only on Oct. 15 had this army succeeded in reassembling on the Yser. The next day, the 16th, the battle began.

"From the 16th to the 20th of October the German effort steadily increases, the conflict goes on developing. On the 20th Nieupoort and Dixmude are in flames. The enemy succeeds in penetrating into Lombaertzyde, but cannot get through. He wishes at any cost to break the line of the Yser before reinforcements can arrive. He redoubles his blows.

"It is at this juncture, in the night of Oct. 21-22, that an event of extreme gravity takes place. Under cover of the darkness the enemy has made a dash across the bridge of Tervaete into the dangerous loop which the Yser throws out toward the east at that place. The hour is agonizing in the extreme, for if the enemy extends his advantage it means that the piercing of the front is inevitable. The Belgian troops, worn out as they are, succeed in holding him; but the next day they have to abandon the bridgehead at Schoorbakke.

"On the 24th the Germans attempt a supreme effort against Dixmude. Fifteen successive assaults rage about the bridgehead, fifteen assaults which be-

come hand-to-hand combats in the black night, and which break themselves against the courage of the French marines and of the Belgians, certain units of which count seventy-two consecutive hours of fighting!

"On the 25th the Belgian command, seeing no other means of prolonging the resistance, plans to inundate the ground between the Yser and the railway. The flood is to serve as a last rampart. The preparatory work is begun. The 27th and 28th are calmer days, though the bombardment continues. Imperceptibly the water has begun its work. The enemy, who does not yet suspect the intervention of this new adversary, is preparing for a last effort. He takes Rams-capelle, from which he is driven out on the 31st, and his retreat is transformed into a rout when he suddenly perceives the flood mounting everywhere around him, cunning and invincible. * * *

"The battle of the Yser is ended. During these 360 hours of desperate combat the Belgian Army has constantly given all its power, without rest or pause. Crouching in their newly dug trenches, or in the mud of ditches, without covering, ill-fed, exposed to all the changes of weather, the men have held fast in spite of all. But in their ragged uniforms they no longer look like human beings. The number wounded in the last thirteen days of October exceeds 9,000; the killed or missing are more than 11,000. The sick and collapsed are numbered by hundreds. Of the military units only fragments remain. The officers have suffered especially; one regiment has only six left.

"But, thanks to its stoical, voluntary

sacrifices, the Belgian Army has barred the way to Dunkerque and Calais; the left wing of the Allies has not been turned; the enemy has not gained possession of the coast from which he expected to menace the very heart of England. For the Germans, therefore, the battle ended in total and bloody defeat. It is the name of a glorious victory, on the other hand, which King Albert caused to be embroidered on the banners of his heroic regiments: Yser!"

The day after the battle of the Yser the Germans announced that there was no longer any Belgium or any Belgian Army. In this they were mistaken. In less than two years the shattered remnant of the army so sorely tried on the Yser was reconstituted and reorganized so that it is today a larger and much stronger fighting force than the whole Belgian Army in the first days of the war.

It is guarding the western front from Nieuport on the English Channel to a point about opposite Bixschoote, a total of twenty or twenty-five miles of trenches, through which the Germans have never been able to break.

In the words of a French commentator: "It was at the Yser that the Belgian soul was fully revealed to itself; it was in that great battle at the end of October, 1914, that the Belgians gained a full consciousness of their worth as a nation, that their will to live free and be sole masters of their destiny was affirmed with the most moving grandeur. The soldiers of King Albert who have defended the lines on the Yser have paid with their blood for the right of their country to govern itself."



A Scottish Minister's Touching Stories of the Wounded

The Rev. Lauchlan Maclean Watt, minister of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh, is contributing to *The Scotsman* occasional sketches from the front which combine the emotional quality of the late Ian Maclaren with an exquisite literary art of their own. In the article here presented he tells of instances of courage and pathos among the wounded.

IT is truly a great thing to see that the day of willing devotion to the noblest ideals is not yet gone from the life of our people. Suffering and death are faced without repining, and men say farewell to the promise of their youth ungrudgingly, feeling that the investment for the sake of the future of the world is worth the cost which they are paying. To the greatest life and death are very simple alternatives, lying easily to either hand, accepted without complaining.

One day I was going through a tent of suffering men just after a big "stunt." It was a day of much and great agony for those who were in actual bodily pain and for those of us who had to try to help them to endure it. I saw two men carried in and laid on beds side by side with each other. One was obviously very severely wounded. The other was swathed in bandages over his head and down over his face, apparently blinded. For a moment I hesitated, thinking it might be better to come back when, perhaps, the agonies of the one might be somewhat abated. But I put my hesitation aside. I found that the two men were brothers who, fighting in the same trench, had been struck down by the same shell. Late that evening an ambulance came for me as a man was dying, and I found it was the soldier I had spoken to earlier in the day.

The camp lay beautifully still, for the clouds were heavy and the stars were veiled. I stepped into the tent, into the breathing dark. The beds were swathed in shadow, only one red lamp hanging from a central post.

They had brought the brothers quite closely together, and the man with the bandaged eyes had a hand of the other

in his own. The dying man took mine in a grip of ice. "Padre," he whispered, "I am going home. And I wanted you to come again to me. Write tenderly to my people. This will break their hearts. And pray that my brother may be spared." There is no ritual for a moment like that. One could but ask Him who was broken also for others to be near this broken man whose body was pierced unto dying for the sake of those he loved. We whispered together there a few lines of "Jesus, Lover of My Soul," and a verse of the immortally wonderful "Lead, Kindly Light." And then he put his arm about my neck and drew me closer. "I tried to do what was right," said he. "O Christ, receive my soul. Have mercy upon me." I heard a man near me, in the dark, say "Amen." And I knew the fellows were not sleeping. They were lying there, in their own pain, thinking of him who was passing that night into the great beyond. Then I said, very quietly, the last verse of the hymn he had whispered:

So long Thy power hath blessed me, sure it
still

Will lead me on,
O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, till
The night is gone,
And with the morn those angel faces smile
Which I have loved long since and lost a
while.

The silence lay between us for a little, till the dying man asked, "What o'clock is it?" And I told him. "I'm so sorry for disturbing you so late," said he. "Good-bye, padre, till we meet again." And with a sigh he passed away.

I heard a quiet step near me, and I looked around, with the dead man in my arms. I should not have been astonished if I had seen the very Christ, with His wounds shining there, behind me, in that

quiet tent, now so terribly, infinitely still. It was only the woman with the red cross on her breast, the angel of the sick and weary in their pain, seeming always to us, in such a moment, the nearest we can get to Christ, for tenderness and help. And so I laid the dead man down upon his pillow; and had to turn immediately to the living one to comfort him.

As long as I live I shall lift my hat to the red cross. It is, of course, the symbol of the highest sacrifice earth's history ever knew; and it is still the mark of the tenderest devotion and most perfect self-surrender for the sake of others. Every man in khaki, and every man that has been a soldier, and every soul that has a soldier boy to love, should salute that symbol which speaks of love amid the hate and turmoil of war. For it means womanhood consecrated to gentle service, reckoning neither wage nor worry in aught it does, and it takes the sting from broken manhood that has ventured for the sake of honor and of duty, through comradeship in suffering, to the verge of life, and beyond it.

War takes a man in the splendid vigor of his full manhood and flings him out of trench and battlefield a bleeding thing. The devoted women of the hospital tent shrink from no duty when the suffering and mire-stained man is brought to them. There can be no greater self-mastery and no more sublime self-forgetfulness than the washing of the bodies of the stricken and the dressing of the terrible wounds that have broken their murderous way into the fair flesh of the soul's house. And how they work! It has to be seen to be understood, and once seen it can never be forgotten. Faithfulness, tenderness, and loving devotion are the marks of those ministering angels, "when pain and anguish wring the brow." There is no question of adherence to hours. It becomes a question of adherence to duty when a rush is on. There is no strike for shorter hours, or an increased wage, or a war bonus with them or the brave men whom they serve. The men, even to the roughest "grouser," appreciate it fully. "O sister! go to rest now," I have heard them say, pleadingly, to the tired

woman with the red cross on her breast and the white cross in her heart.

So, also, with the lads who drive the ambulance cars. I have felt my heart fill as I watched them bringing in the wounded. Gently as a mother carrying a sick child in her bosom, they creep with their agonized burdens over the rough roads, calculating every inequality, thinking through every stage of the journey. I remember, at midnight, standing by one that had just been brought in. The first to be lifted out on a stretcher was a fine fellow, an Irishman, with his right arm blown off. The doctor, with his lantern, leaned over and asked his name. But the suffering man looked up in his face and said, "Sir, before we do anything, please thank that driver. He's a Christian and a gentleman."

The common sorrow of the allied nations binds them very tenderly together. I used to see a fine expression of this in the town where I was first stationed, where some women who had a garden, on the way to the cemetery, were wont to do a very beautiful thing. As, almost daily, the heavy lumbering wagons with the dead came rolling along, those kindly hearts came out and laid on each coffin, above the union jack, a bouquet of exquisite flowers. Then the wagons rumbled on toward the graves. It was a sweet tribute to the brave strangers who are fighting in France, so many of them giving their all in sacrifice for liberty, love, and home in this hideous uprising of all that was monstrous in the dark ages that are past.

One perhaps learns most by unlearning. I used to think of the spirit of pain as intensely, even immensely, vocal. I remember, especially, when I was young, a great gully in the north, beside the sea, up which the waves came dashing in perpetually recurrent warfare, the flood seeking ever higher, only to be drawn away down the sloping shingle again, shrieking, to the main. Often in the daytime I would listen, and, in the dark, would linger near, held by the awe of the unsleeping tragedy of that vast elemental grief which sways about the edges of the world. I told my heart, "This is the spirit of the world pain

finding voice." But now I know otherwise. I have learned better in the school of suffering, in the land of war. The spirit of pain is silent—tholing, at its deepest. It looks at you out of those suffering eyes. There is no cry in it. For the mystery of duty is within its depths. The fifty-third chapter of Isaiah is its truest picture. So it comes to be that the nobility and manliness of the brave combine, with unforgettable splendor of ineffable beauty, the darkness of our times. When they do speak there is a majesty of stillness about their utterance, vast as the mid-deep, far away, out under the stars.

The lads are uplifted by the nearness of the Unseen. I have before me two genuine documents, letters of two fine boys who went godward up the highway of the sun—the way of sacrifice. They speak for themselves. No novelist's imagination could create so fine an utterance. One was scribbled in the trenches, the other in the hospital ward, to those who had the best claim on the best the writers had to give. Said one:

"I am in the trenches, and in half an hour we go over the top. Our artillery is going at it hammer and tongs, the biggest bombardment in English history. It is just like huge express trains rushing through the air in hundreds. All of us are happy in the prospect of a clean fight after so many weary months as passive spectators of anything but warfare, except on rare occasions. If I get through all right I shall add a postscript to this. If not, mother dear, I know you will not be beaten by a Spartan mother who had no heavenly Father

revealed to her to look to for comfort, but yet could say, 'Come back with victory, or not at all.' With heaps of love. * * *

The other is suffused with the same straightforward spirit of fearlessness and faith.

"I was so glad to see your answer this morning, but am sorry I have not enough strength to write much. A good few died of wounds in this hospital through weakness, but I am leaving all doubts with God, as He holds the key of all the Unknown, and I am glad. So if I die before long, and I cannot see anything more sure, I hope to meet you all in God's good time. My wound is numb. It is in my thigh, and I have no pain. * * * I am now at the balance, to live or die. So good day, and God bless all. * * *

There was nothing really extraordinary about these boys among their fellows. But one is struck by the frequency with which the men, after a deep emotion, touch literature in their letters. Of course the secret of true style lies in a real experience. Some of them, it is true, tell absolutely false tales, and their letters are sentimental poses. But of the letters of dying men there can be no mistake, and these boys wrote these on the threshold of the eternal mystery. They are types of a large proportion of the army of today, fighting, suffering, and dying as those who have looked in the face of the Invisible, and are inheriting the promise, "Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life." It is surely an incentive to the people at home, for honor and remembrance.

King Alfonso's Aid for War Prisoners

Mme. Gabrielle Réval, writing for *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, tells this touching story of what the King of Spain is doing to relieve the suspense of relatives of "missing" soldiers.

THERE are hearts that are broken by waiting; hearts that long for certainty, and others that hope against all hope. They look for miracles, or seek, on the earth, some beneficent power to help them to find again the "missing" one, whom they do not wish to lament as

dead. A name flies, repeated from mouth to mouth; it is that of the King of Spain. Everywhere you hear: "Apply to King Alfonso XIII.; through him we obtained news; through him prisoners condemned to be shot have been saved; through him the sick and gravely

wounded have been sent home; through him we have been able to send help."

It is thus that, by the voice of the people, I learned the generous and charitable use which his Majesty the King of Spain made of his royal power. The neutrality preserved by his Government forbids him to take part in this war, but it does not forbid him to show himself a man; and this King, who takes upon himself the sufferings of others, spends himself day by day, unwearyingly, in order that the captivity of brave men may be less cruel, and that the grief of French families may be softened by the news which it gives him joy to obtain.

I have seen in the offices of the Palacio Real, which one might now call the Temple of Compassion, 200,000 letters from France, from Belgium, from England, which addressed the same supplication to the King. From this nameless multitude rise great names, that of Maître Theodor, the venerable President of the Brussels bar; that of Mme. Carton de Wiart, of the Countess de Belleville, of Mlle. Thullier, of Nijinsky, the famous Russian dancer, of the journalist Jantchestizky, of the Bohemian professors saved from death or from captivity by the direct intervention of the King, who fights with strokes of the telegraph to save these lives, hurries his Ambassador, presses on the negotiations.

* * * Miss Cavell would have been saved, like her two companions, Mlle. Thullier and the Countess de Belleville, if the measures set in motion by the King's pity could have been begun sooner.

Each morning offers a new conflict; but in the evening the young King can sleep well; like the Roman Emperor, his day has not been lost. It is one of Alfonso's days that I would like to record, such as I have seen him live it during my stay at Madrid; but first I wish to evoke the noble and chivalrous figure of this young sovereign, so popular in France. * * *

"I beg of you, Madam, to say that the prayers I offer for peace by no means signify that I wish for peace at any price; that would be an offense for France, and I love France! But my duty as the sovereign of a neutral country is to desire that the sufferings which strike

other peoples so cruelly should have an end."

These are King Alfonso's own words. * * * The King received me in a white silk drawing room, which, in its taste and decoration, reminds one of the lesser rooms at Versailles. * * * The King is 30; he hardly looks 25. His face is surprisingly mobile. If his features recall those of the Princes of the House of Austria, the vivacity of his look, the expression of his face, the charm of the tender and humorous smile are an inheritance from France. His eyes are brown; all at once they sparkle, and then suddenly they cloud over. These youthful eyes are not compelled to the prudent reserve imposed on the words of a King; in their wordless language, they express a soul generous and tender.

"I have admired, in the letters written to me from France," he said, "the self-sacrifice of families struck by the war. Not a complaint. All for their country! What nobility of feeling! What a happiness for me when I can answer these letters by the announcement of good news!"

I know that, by the King's order, good news is telegraphed to French families. But if the answer coming from Berlin is bad, in order to soften the grief which he must cause, it is to the parish priest or the Mayor of the commune that his Majesty's private secretary addresses the letter:

I regret to bring to your knowledge that, in accordance with a letter which I have just received from his Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin, in spite of the most careful researches undertaken at the Spanish Embassy and the Red Cross, with a view to obtaining information concerning * * * it was only possible to learn that he died while generously giving his life for his country.

I shall be grateful to you, if you will be so good as to transmit, with all possible consideration, this sad news to * * * and I beg you at the same time, in the name of the King, to express to * * * his Majesty's very sincere condolences and sympathy. * * *

Alfonso's Work for Prisoners

His Majesty knew well that I was acquainted with all the details of the work which he has created for prisoners and for those who are repatriated. He expressed his ardent desire to do still more to soften the fate of our captives and to be able to extend to the Russians and

the Portuguese the same investigations, which would extend his work to Mesopotamia and Africa. And his Majesty also spoke to me of the problems which must come after the war for the nations to solve:

"What will be the political and economic situation of Europe with regard to the New World? * * * Gold, torn by the war from the older nations, poured in waves upon the young nations—may not this bring a displacement of wealth, dangerous for the economic future of Europe? * * * The influx of gold into America may, perhaps, bring about a stream of emigration thither which will weaken the older nations. * * * By what policy can Europe defend herself against these dangers of another order, and re-establish the economic equilibrium broken by the war? * * * So many questions which will dominate the future dictate new alliances; questions which affect Spain as well as France and the other nations. * * *"

The soul of the royal work for the discovery of the missing is Don Emilio-Maria de Torres, Minister Plenipotentiary and private secretary to his Majesty. It is in the offices of his secretariat, in the Palacio Real, that this work is installed; it was soon so crowded there that it became necessary to give up to it four halls, and then eight, in order that the collaborators, becoming more and more numerous, might work comfortably. In May, 1916, the work of the King, already a year old, occupied at Madrid twenty-eight persons, who began their day at 8 in the morning and sometimes worked far into the night.

One might say of Don Emilio-Maria de Torres that the functions which his sovereign has confided to him make of him a Minister of Mercy—giving to this word, Merced, all that it implies in the Spanish language, of charity, sweetness, patience, gentleness. * * * I have often seen his eyes grow dim as he read the heart-breaking letters which compose what Don Emilio himself sadly calls "the anthology of sorrow * * *"

The greater part of these very touching letters are written by humble folk, who remember that formerly the Kings of France were called fathers of the

people. And were not these Kings the ancestors of Alfonso XIII.? Peasants, workmen, farmers, small tradesmen, people of little education, who have not been willing to have any intermediary between the King and themselves; they have written in their own way, which is a good way, often on the humble paper at a penny a sheet, which the grocer sells, often on sheets with business letterheads, or on a page torn from a schoolboy's exercise book; those best informed have bought large paper and carefully molded their handwriting.

The most simple of these missives of the people are naturally the most touching. I shall quote a few of them, without giving any names, in order simply to reveal this treasure in the hearts of the humble. * * *

Letters to King of Spain

"To his Majesty Alfonso XIII.: Simple working people, at the declaration of war we had two sons who were our joy; one, for the last ten months, had been with his regiment; he went away, happy and proud to do his duty; he never returned. He was at Charleroi, at Guise, and was wounded on Aug. 29, 1914. From that day he disappeared, leaving us in cruel uncertainty of his lot, in anguished waiting for news that never comes. The second was not yet twenty; following his brother's example, he signed a voluntary engagement for four years. Hitherto God has guarded him. If we had had more sons, with pride we should have seen them go forth to defend our France; but to live for eighteen months without knowing anything, each day asking ourselves if the supreme sacrifice has been consummated, is an exceedingly heavy anguish for mothers.

"Her gracious Majesty the Queen, watching her royal children, has, I am convinced, a heart full of sadness and pity for all those mothers whose sons are no more. All our efforts have hitherto been vain. Perhaps through this letter we shall gain some result.

"May your Majesty deign to receive the very humble and very respectful homage of a poor mother who is infinitely grateful."

Another French mother writes:

"I suffer terribly because I do not know what has become of our dear boy, and I think that I should prefer to know for certain that he was dead, to have a tomb to which I could go to pray, rather than to live so long in cruel incertitude, which burns you up like a slow fire. It is horrible, Sire, the more so that the unhappy boy's two brothers have already fallen on the field of honor. If our dear son Charles is dead, we are childless.

"An unhappy mother, who has placed her last hope in you. * * *"

A wife, whose writing is very tremulous, and who addresses the King as if in prayer, writes:

"Sire: I have recourse to your goodness for my husband, who disappeared on Sept. 27, 1915, before Souchez. * * * Your Majesty, receive my most respectful sentiments."

And this very touching letter is from a little girl, who ruled her white paper and wrote in the large writing of a school child:

"Sire: I have the honor to address this

letter to you, to ask you for news of my brother. We are all full of anguish and my mother is seriously ill; she can find no consolation. Would you be good enough to give me news? Here is his address. * * * I salute you and thank you."

When it is impossible to find the missing—dead or living—the letter of the relatives is finally filed. Alas! I saw, in one of the halls of the Royal Palace which are given up to them, 150,000 of these letters, which represent the mystery of 150,000 existences concerning which, perhaps, nothing will ever be known. A whole army is contained in this little space, under a cross surrounded with oak and bay leaves. It was the King's wish to set the Christian symbol and the sign of hope over these letters which bear witness that men lived, were loved, and died in the dark to save their country. "Out of death shall come forth life," a pious hand has written on the pediment of this dolorous reliquary of the patriotism of France.

A Canadian's Stirring Battle Picture

By Corporal J. A. Holland

Of the Canadian Division of the British Army in France

This remarkable narrative of personal experience on the Somme was originally written as a letter to Richard Southam of Toronto. The author was formerly advertising manager of the Consolidated Rubber Company in Montreal, and is now a Lieutenant of Artillery at the front. The battle described is that of Sept. 15-16, 1916, which resulted in the capture of Martinpuich and Courcellette, and in which the armored "tank" cars made their debut in history. "Canada's day of triumph," as Corporal Holland called it, could not have been more vividly described by Kipling.

I AM to be a Lieutenant of Artillery and I will be sent to England—shortly, I hope—for polishing up and instruction in the miracle of guns and gunnery. I need the rest and change, and no matter how strenuous the training may prove it will seem like a holiday to me, because, believe me, we have been through the deepest depths of hades. Lord, will I ever forget it! It began on the evening of the 15th, when our guns opened up a bombardment which has never been equalled in intensity since the war began. Fritz's batteries were, of course, not idle and shocks of sound simply rocked the air in

solid waves, giving one a humming sensation in the head that felt as if one's brain must burst. But that was only the beginning. An attack was preparing all along the line, and our objective was a ridge spanned by one thousand yards of shell-splattered and bullet-swept valley fronting Courcellette, a strongly fortified village 300 yards further back. Our second objective, the ground between our front line and the Huns' wire-protected ridge, had been quarried by high explosive—a mass of chasms in soft, crumpled earth, which would seem impassable to anything without wings.

Orders are orders, however, and in this war English troops are daily doing the seemingly impossible. So why should we worry? We didn't. We simply crouched in our battered burrows—recently Hun trenches—and waited for the word to move. The Hun gunners were scoring uncomfortably frequent hits and stretcher bearers were having a busy and dangerous time. We had about eight hours of this to stick before our final barrage would open up and show us the way to Fritz. At the first blush of dawn our planes came over—flocks of them—and, flying very low, kept a close watch on the enemy's every movement, indifferent to the furious fire concentrated upon them by A. A. guns and M. G.'s. They amused us and kept our minds occupied until we were all startled out of a year's growth by the first blast of our final bombardment. Thousands of guns had been roaring up to now, but tens of thousands were coughing in hoarse earth- and - air - shaking rumbles simultaneously at this moment.

Millions of titanic hammers were beating ceaselessly on steel tanks, so it seemed. Nerve-shaking concussions followed on the heels of hurtling shells in dense waves of stunning sound, stupefying and bewildering. This was the unleashing of all the terrible modern machinery of destruction; the hellish discoveries of war-inspired chemical research controlled by scientists and directed with infallible accuracy. Some one saw the twin green flares burst high on our right—I didn't—and the barrage lifted like a sheet of flame beyond the ridge top. That was the signal for our battalions waiting in the first line.

They were over—a chain of blurred figures against a background of swirling smoke; another and another. A year's back debts of suffering would be paid for today.

I couldn't charge, I had other work to do; but I didn't realize this until I had covered over forty yards of badly pitted earth at racing speed. I came back reluctantly, battling with a fighting craze that was strange to me—an awful hankering to shoot and stab and dabble in blood. It "gets" some people that way

and its suppression brings tears. I cried, heart-breakingly.

Out of the bowels of the earth crawled a monster—a quivering, toadlike thing, glistening gray in the half light—an unearthed mammoth—a thousand years old, shaking the caked earth from its scaly sides, but purring in a strangely familiar way.

A "tank," by all that's wonderful!

What a name for this marvel—this weird, weary dinosaur whose bowels are racketing engines, whose teeth are machine guns, and whose hide is two inches of proof steel, which can climb over cliffs and into valleys, and is impervious to all the weaknesses of wheeled things.

A "tank!"—a mocking, ridiculous name given to hide a marvelous invention. Yet there is humor in the beast. Its every movement is funny. Its design is a joke—a flatiron on edge. Its pace is ponderously slow—a wabbling waddle tilting to impossible angles—dipping, rolling, and sliding into and emerging from impossible chasms. Its motions would draw gales of laughter from a circus crowd.

But as one's mind plays with the possibilities of the monstrosity—yet untried—its ability to overcome every obstruction and its punishing gun power, one is filled with an unholy joy that at last we are to go the Huns one better; give them a *clean* reply to poison gas and liquid fire. The "tank" is following hard on the heels of the eager infantry. Hard is the word. Dipping and plunging like a dismasted Dutch lugger in a storm-tossed sea, floundering perilously in the shell wallows, but pursuing an irresistible course through the fire-scorched valley, "Old Faithful" is making a bee-line for the Hun trenches. And the infantry have seen and are cheering him furiously, frantically. But even the first rush has caused us lives and wounds. The stretcher bearers are picking up the wounded; the dead must wait. Deliberately they go about their work, though the bullets are droning through the air like hiving bees, and big "crumps" are kicking up earth and stones very near by. Over the rise—our ridge—comes the first batch of prisoners. Two guards with

flashing bayonets walk steadily behind their crouching, hurrying figures. Erstwhile boastful Bavarians frankly frightened of death, singing in the air.

The word comes to me that we have gained our first objective—the rise barely discernible through the smoke-whorls which mercifully veil the dead-incumbered slope. The barrage, which has been maintained with unabated vigor, has lifted again, recording another line of trenches taken. The Hun batteries are firing “into the blue.” Our ‘planes have done marvelous work today. German artillery observation has been completely destroyed. His guns are “sightless.”

The time has come for me to report back—I hate to go, but orders are orders. When I get into the Bapaume Road I am sure to meet some wounded-walking cases. They will have news. Here comes a chap with a bullet-shattered arm swathed in blood-stained, first-dressing bandages. A smile of absolute content overspreads his grimy, stubbled face; the wet, caked trench mud clings to him like a shell. He has a “Blighty.” No, he doesn’t need any help—a little pain, that’s all. Got it at the “sugar factory.” A sniper hidden in an old boiler. Four of them paid for it, though. No, the Germans won’t fight when they are cornered; some stand or kneel and surrender, others run and are bayoneted or bombed in the dugouts. They don’t know how to fight “clean.” Treacherous devils if given half a chance. We can go through them till the cows come home. My friendly, wounded hero spoke of them as one would talk of vermin. His was the view of a gentleman fighter discussing things. I left him at the advanced dressing station, a raised patch of dry, sandy earth half a mile behind the front line—a battlefield of yesterday.

Wounded—ours and German—lie everywhere. Every form of flesh mutilation given by shell, bullet, bomb, and bayonet can be seen here; but agonies are endured with stoical calm. The rough ministrations and anointings of raw, torn flesh with iodine are borne without audible whimper, though many are lapsing into unconsciousness from sheer pain. Speed is more essential here than

the careful work of the hospital ward. Out on the Bapaume Road, bordered by the grim ruins of battered German trenches, are strings of ambulances and motor lorries waiting for and hurrying away with their pain-racked burdens—Canadian boys who were whole and vigorous an hour ago.

Around and about us everywhere are the tireless batteries roaring deathlike defiance at the German lines. Odd “crumps” from Fritz’s “sightless” batteries are kicking up the earth not one hundred yards away. His guns are groping blindly for human targets; his last desperate effort to find our concentration camps ere he is driven back on the tide of defeat. Three hundred yards down the road is the “cage” where the Hun prisoners are arriving in disconsolate, war-weary groups. Before them are the straggling chalk trenches which they held a short month ago, bitter reminders to beaten men.

Our slightly wounded press close to the barbed wire, and in spite of the grinning sentries are doing a lively trade in souvenirs, badges, buttons, shoulder straps, &c., for which they are swapping cigarettes. These Huns are desperately anxious to please, and they are frankly fed up with war. Already they have sensed the kindness of their captors and, despite the fearsome stories of English brutality with which their officers have stuffed them, they seem more than willing to take us on trust. Now orderlies are moving among them with dixies of hot, steaming tea, baskets of bread and cheese, and all the miseries of war are forgotten in the joy of satiated hunger.

There are English cigarettes to follow—our answer to Ruhleben—the British way of retaliating for unnamable tortures inflicted on our soldiers in German prison camps.

Optimism overspreads every grimy face and, warmed with food, these prisoners of war are laughing and chatting like society people at grand opera. All except one man, a German Lieutenant, maddened at being herded with “swine privates.” He stands alone at the far corner of the inclosure, the cynosure of all eyes. His venomous protest made in

perfect English, and particularly the part about "swine privates," has been heard by our boys and greeted with smiles of amused contempt. Some officer! It needs no great powers of observation to see that he is both feared and hated by those "swine privates," but the iron discipline that has been driven into their souls is still sufficiently strong to prevent murder. After the war (who knows what will happen?) the smoldering fire which burns in these men's eyes may break forth; freedom may snap the bonds. But what an ill-assorted lot they are—dregs of a nation's manhood sacrificed on the altar of power lust. Every age from 18 to 40 is represented, and physique varies accordingly. There are very few stalwarts; the bullet-headed, thick-necked Huns who set the ruthless iron heel on France and Belgium in 1914—high priests of force and fear. Our tall, slightly built, clean-limbed youngsters standing idly by look, as they are, masters of the herd. A beaten Germany has sent these men to the last sacrifice, and through a miracle they have been spared at the very edge of the abyss.

They realize now to where they have been led; the whole colossal lie is ex-

posed to their still incredulous minds. What will happen in Germany after the war? I leave with that speculation persistently crossing my mind.

The battle still rages. The Canadians have taken Courcellette. The impossible has been accomplished and the advance continues. We have beaten Germany's last troops—the Bavarian Guards Reserve—on ground of their own choosing and the tattered remnants are trickling steadily into the "cage"—the rest will fight no more. It is Canada's day of triumph.

But I have also seen a portion of the price that was paid, and my imagination carries me to the shell pits and battered trenches where our dead lie. Somewhere in the shambles are tried and trusted friends, grand men, endeared to me by the kinship of training days and the harder service of the field. Their going fills me with sadness and a great loneliness. The "old boys" can now be counted on one hand. Since that ever memorable day we have had more victories paid for in lives, but the taking of the ridge and Courcellette will rank as Canada's greatest achievement until perhaps the Hun makes his final stand on the Rhine.

The Fatal Tower of Bovent

A remarkable yet typical example of the conflict waged on the Somme front between big French guns and colossal German defenses of concrete has been placed on record by a war correspondent of The London Morning Post in the interesting story here related regarding a German tower at Bovent.

AT Bovent the Germans decided to construct in a small wood or orchard—in its present state of dilapidation the most expert of gardeners would be puzzled to say which of the two it originally was—an observation post which was to be capable of overlooking a wide extent of the French lines. The position was a good one, and the French would undoubtedly have utilized it by contriving some ingenious outlook place, which would have been completely hidden in the foliage. They would have built in all probability something quite flimsy, which would be destroyed by the first

shell which found it and could be as easily set up again.

Not so the Germans; they set to work to build an observation post as if the dismal lines of trenches on the Somme had been dug for all eternity. One can conceive the commander of the German battalion, stationed at that point, telling his men: "We are now going to dig and fortify with reinforced concrete shelters and an observation post such as have never before been seen. The war may last for twenty years, but my officers and I will be quite safe inside them against the heaviest shell ever invented. It is unfor-

fortunate that most of you will have to be satisfied with such protection as you can get from the parapet of the trench, but then you will have the immense satisfaction of having dug and armored the most colossal of all shelters."

So the German officer built for himself the Tower of Bovent, and would no doubt have been very incredulous had any fortune teller warned him that he was digging his own grave. The German sappers worked with a zeal that had in it perhaps something of the zeal of the builders of the Pyramids, who were slaves. They burrowed under the earth like moles and built eight roomy shelters thirty feet underground, where no shell could penetrate. These shelters were connected by subterranean passages and provided with a number of exits, so that if by an unlucky chance a bursting shell should block up any one of them the others should be still available. For reasons that will shortly appear, history will never know how many bolt holes the Germans had made for themselves.

The crowning glory of their work was a tower that rose some five or six feet above the ground. So long as Summer lasted it was hidden by the foliage of the trees and undergrowth; no doubt when Winter came it was to be converted into an innocent-looking mound of earth. The tower was constructed of great blocks of reinforced concrete. It resembled the conning tower of a battleship, and at the top of it there were two narrow slits facing the enemy, through which the observer could watch the French lines or a machine gun could fire. The shelters were also protected with lumps of concrete that could be regarded as proof against any artillery.

The Summer foliage was still hiding the tower when one day it struck a French artillery Lieutenant that there was something not quite natural about the corner of a wood or orchard near Bovent. It was certainly an ideal place for a German lookout, so it occurred to him that it might be worth while to send a few salvos of "75" shells on the suspicious point.

His enterprise was rewarded. The "75" shells soon made short work of

leaves and branches, and there appeared to view the naked gray concrete of the tower. It was then the affair of the big guns. The moment for the attack on Bovent was drawing near and the gunners were asking for nothing better than a well-defined target. The German officers, who, with their orderlies and the telephonists, were safe thirty feet underground, were in no way disturbed by the discovery of their tower. It was proof against anything but a direct hit from a very big shell, and their shelters they believed could defy anything.

So, quite unconcerned, they passed the time as usual. They had a piano, and two of them began a game of chess. Then the big French shells began to whizz, and the life of the men in the trench below the tower became anything but pleasant. It was this trench that the French poilus had named the "Tranchée de l'inoubliable Grand-père," after General Joffre the Unforgettable. Soon it was difficult to distinguish between original trench and shell holes. The tower got no direct hit, but its appearance became more and more ragged as splinters began to tear off its outer coating of concrete. The steel that reinforced the concrete appeared in hooks and twisted bands, and its once smooth surface grew unkempt and scarred.

Down below, the Germans worried not at all about the appearance of their tower and went on with their games. Then, if the scene is rightly reconstituted, there came an alarm which really affected them. It was announced that the French had begun to fire gas shells on the position. The gas, being heavier than air, is particularly deadly in shelters below ground, and the Germans were not slow to put on their masks, which, with their metal protuberances that suggest a pig's snout, are one of the most hideous productions of a hideous war.

It cannot be long after that there came a terrific explosion, which was the last sound those thirty Germans heard in this life. Their shelters seem to have resisted the shock, but the concussion was more than the human frame could bear. A very large French shell had landed about ten yards to the left of the tower, im-

mediately above the shelters. Its explosion opened a hole in the ground about fifteen feet deep, hurled blocks of concrete about as if they were straws, and blocked the entrances to the shelters.

When the French infantry carried the position an adventurous soldier managed to squeeze his way down through one of the entrances, and saw the extraordinary sight of some thirty Boches, including

two Colonels, lying dead with their gas masks on, and apparently not a single wound among them. It was impossible to bring the bodies up, so the French engineers simply blocked up more securely the entrances which the shell had obstructed, and the tower and shelters, built with such an expenditure of labor, have merely become their builders' grave.

The Eagles of the Czar

Most Dreaded of the Cossacks

Ludovic H. Grondijs, author of "The Germans in Belgium" and "Notes of a Dutch Eyewitness," has written an article for *L'Illustration*, from which this interesting excerpt has been translated for *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*.

YOU must realize what Volhynia is like. The enemy occupies a region which, even before the war, offered few attractions to the inhabitant or the traveler. For whole days you can travel hither and thither throughout the country without seeing anything but forests and marshes. Beeches and birches cover immense spaces, cut by roads which are among the very worst in the world. No roadbed. The road is only a broad strip, borrowed from the fields, whose irregular outline it follows, with mud, or, in dry seasons, terrible dust. After the rain these tracks are deep in water. Carts sink to the axles, or even as deep as the traveler's feet. After a thaw they are impassable.

Suppose now that determined men should slip through the lines and begin to people the forests which the enemy has left behind him. They hide in these dreaded marshes, in these woods which can only be occupied in part. These men are the "Eagles of the Czar," who threaten the lines of communication, of supplies, lying in wait for the invader, following in his tracks, surrounding him with their menace, giving him the coup de grace if he lags, if he wanders, if he flees. To fulfill their mission the Eagles of the Czar must work singly, but they know how to find each other when there is need for it. Separated themselves from any base, isolated like brigands, they "work," animated by the most fero-

cious determination, with the deepest disdain for death.

Informed that 500 Eagles of the Czar were going to go forth to pierce the enemy lines, I went one morning to a great square where the ceremony of departure was prepared. I saw on the left a troop of cavalymen and on the right an equal number of Cossacks. The cavalymen were all very young men; many of them wore the Cross of Saint George. The Cossacks were of all ages. Russia has not called up the reserves of the cavalry of the line; therefore her soldiers are all of the young active classes. The Cossacks, as is well known, are all mobilized, the young and the old alike, and all, old or young, responded eagerly to the appeal when there was a call for the Eagles of the Czar.

I scan these men attentively. Among them there are some who are little more than children. These young fellows, for whom life holds the fullest promise, seem to attach no importance to life. Indeed, it is only with life's decline, at the hour when existence has no more charms for him, that man hugs the earth and refuses to die.

Among the Cossacks I notice the most diverse types: Cossacks of the Don, of the Ural, and others who come from the frontiers of China. Their noses are like the beaks of birds of prey, their heads are shaven, they wear long mustaches. Some are lithe as serpents; others have

the square strength of buffaloes. All wear tall caps of astrakhan or lambskin.

The priest who is to celebrate the religious ceremony has had his assistant place a little table before the troops. They are waiting for the arrival of the General who organized the corps of the Eagles of the Czar. He is signaled. The 500 volunteers range their horses in a half circle. The General arrives, places himself at the centre of the troop, and cries in a loud voice:

"Good health to you, Eagles!" Like thunder his men answer in a single shout: "Good health to you, General!" * * *

The chant of the officiating priest rises, with the gravity of his bass voice; from time to time the responses of the assistant bring a note more musical and lighter. At the end of the ceremony the priest wishes the Eagles of the Czar a safe return, and they answer him with a deeply moving chant:

O God, save Thy people, and bless Thine inheritance. * * *
Give victory to our most Christian Emperor, Nicolai Alexandrovitch,
Over his enemies, and by Thy Holy Cross, save all that liveth. * * *

The General cries, "Long life to the Czar!" And this cry is repeated a dozen times with such ardor that my heart is strained with emotion and with grief. All these young men, in the flower of their age, think only of setting out on their adventure, to their deaths, and their last enthusiasm is for their Emperor. It is an ecstasy which rises like a wave in their hearts and then ebbs; their faces become once more impassive. They will die—the Emperor and Holy Russia will live.

I exchange a few words with their officers, who, in their picturesque uniforms, with their long riding breeches and their short cloaks, seem to spring from the Napoleonic epoch. I shall never forget the features of one of them—the face of a restless child, long, thin, under an enormous cap of gray fur, an elegant young fellow who spoke several languages. He had, under this youthful, even girlish exterior, an eye so resolute, so implacable, that I could not turn my glance from his face. I bid "au revoir" to the officers and to some of the soldiers. One of these last answers: "We shall not see each

other again!" And the glances of his companions express their approval.

Is it solely the taste for adventure that inspires such men, or has not the fragrance of sacrifice for a great cause descended into their souls?

Are they really setting forth without hope of return, and do they desire to die, clutching the dead body of a hated enemy, or do they still cherish a hope which continues to beat its feeble wings?

The enemy will show them no mercy, for they themselves will make no prisoners. They go out without taking any food, for to be light as birds they must seek their food in the fields, or in the knapsack of an enemy they have slain. They go without camping kit. They will sleep in the forests, rain or shine, always alone with their horses and their spears. No ambulance accompanies them. When they are wounded no gentle hand will stanch their wounds; they will die in their blood, or a comrade, in pity, will give them the happy dispatch. * * *

A brief order echoes over the plain. The Eagles of the Czar defile before the General, who salutes them; they turn to the right, and disappear in the direction of the enemy.

These men are the heirs of the Cossacks who harried the rear guard of Napoleon's army. But the task of these men is harder. In 1813 they were fighting an army in retreat, therefore they were fighting on their own ground. To-day, in order to get close to the invader, they must cut off behind themselves all chance of escape. They will slip, dirty and disfigured, through dark forests and treacherous marshes. They will harass the enemy wherever they can. They are free. They will fight in their own way, alone or in groups. They can choose the form of their death.

The last Cossacks pass before me. They are as proud as Princes, and certain of them are magnificent brigands. One of them carries a harmonica under his arm. His companion carries two spears. The crowd is silent. For a long time we follow with our eyes these faces and these silhouettes marked against the sky and seem to me already to be shades departing toward death.

How German Soldiers View Actual Warfare

LIEUTENANT LOUIS MADELIN, an eminent French historian and soldier, who spent twenty-six months at Verdun and was an eyewitness of the German offensive there, has collected hundreds of letters taken from German prisoners and German dead at that time, and has published a digest of them under the title, "L'Aveu: La Bataille de Verdun et l'Opinion Allemande," ("The Confession: The Battle of Verdun and German Opinion.") His aim has been to present the most striking letters and passages revealing internal discontent in Germany—a growing resentment against the authors of the war.

"After the middle of March," says Lieutenant Madelin, "Germany learned, little by little, that the Verdun drive was a failure; learned it in spite of a shamelessly lying press and of bulletins stupefying in their imposture. It was the most immense deception that a people ever experienced.

"Then all the pent-up feelings of the nation burst forth. * * * I have found in these letters very few cries of hatred against France, such as were raised at the beginning of the war in an enormous concert. For already, in their unanimous desire for peace, (during those five months of anxiety, of hope, of effort, of deceptions, and of rancor, this was the leitmotif—Peace! Peace!) Germany was beginning to understand at last that there were persons in her midst 'who have caused the war,' and who are, besides, 'profiting by it.' 'Criminals' one of these letters called them.

"It was in the light of the battle of Verdun, lost by the German Crown Prince in the august presence of the Emperor, with the best German blood, that the truth gradually appeared. This is why it is worth while to group these documents, which constitute a page of German history and psychology, written by Germany herself, and which I here

submit to the judgment of the readers of all countries."

The book, though written in the French language, is documented with facsimile copies of letters in the original German. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE herewith presents English translations of some of the more noteworthy passages.

Beginning of the Battle

Before the attack at Verdun a German soldier of the Eighth Fusilier Regiment (Twenty-first Division) wrote to his mother:

"My Dear Mother: I must tell you that we have come to a great moment: we have received the order to take by assault Hill 344, near Verdun, and Verdun itself. I am writing you this letter on the 21st of February at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. The artillery has already been firing for eight hours with the heaviest guns, mortars of 42, 38, and 30 calibre. There is going to be a fight such as the world has never seen. Our chiefs have instructed us and told us that our dear families are expecting great things from us. * * * We hope that our enterprise is going to succeed, and that God will be with us. We have been chosen for this greatest task, which is going, perhaps, to bring a decision in this frightful struggle. Everybody would be very happy if it were the end, for then we could all go home; but misfortunes come so swiftly, especially when one has to take a fortress like this, the greatest fortress of France."

A letter written from a German home on March 20 to a soldier at the front said: "Concerning the fall of Verdun the people here have two different opinions. One party holds that by the fall of Verdun we shall arrive at a decision between France and Germany. The other says: 'We have Verdun, it is true, [sic,] but we are far from having France.'" From Hanover, on April 14, comes the same note: "We believe that

the war will not last much longer, and the general opinion is that after the fall of Verdun the war will soon end." By the 19th of April, however, a tone of disillusionment and anger begins to be heard: "The men are being dragged by force to butchery."

Bitter Disillusionment

Long before this the fighting around Douaumont and Vaux had convinced the German soldiers of the terrible nature of their task. The notebook of one of them contains this cry of dismay:

"March 24, 1916. Before Fort de Vaux.—I have no need of writing anything further than that. All the rest is implied. Yet I wish to keep on hoping. It is bitter, very bitter! I am still so young! What's the use? What good does it do to pray, to supplicate? The shells! The shells!"

A man who has been in the assault on Hill 265 writes on March 23: "From the first moment the projectiles were whistling over our heads. We received a terrible fire from the machine guns and artillery the instant we leaped forward to attack Hill 265 and carried the first trenches, shouting hurrahs! Unfortunately, we suffered heavy losses. Of my squad, which comprised nineteen men, only three remain. Whoever gets out of this with a wound that merely sends him home (Heimatschuss) can call himself lucky, for many are losing their lives here." Another, who had been in Russia, wrote on April 3: "In Russia it was child's play compared with the artillery fire here."

Le Mort Homme, which the German official bulletin of March 15 announced as captured, continued to offer an impassable barrier to the German assault. Lieutenant Madelin notes that a letter of a German officer "comes to give the lie to the false communiqué." The letter is by Lieutenant R. of the Seventy-first Reserve, who was killed before the Crow's Wood on April 9. On the preceding day he wrote:

"My dear Walter: I am sitting at this moment in my hole, and am thinking of you. Ah! What a difference between my quarters here and life in Germany! For a week I have been living in

dirt without a chance to wash myself. Nonowow was not an agreeable place, but this hell before Verdun is a place of mortal sadness. Tomorrow our regiment is to attack between the Bois des Corbeaux and Le Mort Homme, which, moreover, the French have always held, and where they have excellent observatories. The circle is closing a little around Verdun, but my opinion, based on the extreme precision of the French artillery fire and the innumerable array of their heavy guns, is that we shall not take Verdun. It would cost too many men. To capture it would require months of fighting."

Officer's Graphic Letter

Lieutenant H. of the Eighty-first, on the right bank of the Meuse, echoed these sentiments on April 15:

"My dear Parents: Probably you are waiting with impatience for a sign of life from me. I hope that this letter will reach you, but it is not easy to mail letters here.

"My beautiful time as a staff officer of the Fifty-sixth Regiment ended several days ago. Our losses in officers are rather heavy, so that I have had to take the Eighth Company as commandant. At present I am with my company in the very first line, crouched in a small mud-hole which is supposed to protect me from the enemy shells dropping ceaselessly. I have already seen many things, but never before have I seen war of a character so frightful and indescribable. I would not describe it for you in detail, even if I could, for I would only give you useless anxiety.

"We are under a frightful artillery fire day and night. The French are making a monstrously stubborn resistance. On the 11th of April we made an attack to take the French trenches. We had begun with a considerable artillery preparation lasting twelve hours, then the infantry attack was loosed; but the French machine guns were absolutely intact, so that the first wave of assault was immediately mowed down by their fire when it left the trenches. Besides, the French in their turn let loose such a barrage fire from their artillery that an attack was no longer to be thought of. Now we are

here in the first-line trenches, about 125 yards from the French.

"The weather is terrible—cold and continual rain. I wish you could see what a state I am in, with boots, trousers, overcoat all soaked and covered with a layer of mud an inch thick.

"All the roads are held ceaselessly under the French cannon fire, so that we cannot even bury our dead. It is pitiful to see these poor fellows lying dead in their mudholes. Every day we have more killed and wounded. Only by risking life can we carry the wounded to safety. We have to go for our meals three kilometers to the rear—to the wheeled kitchens—and even there we are in danger of death. Every day there are men killed and wounded at their meals, so that many prefer to go hungry rather than go and seek food.

"Almost everybody in our company is ill. To be in the rain all day, completely soaked; to sleep in the mud, to be night and day under a frightful bombardment, and that for eight consecutive days and nights, breaks the nerves completely. From the point of view of health I am still fairly well off; but my feet are completely soaked and frozen, and I am frightfully cold up to the knees.

"I hope I shall have the good fortune to come out of here alive; I wish it, for one cannot even be buried properly here. Don't worry uselessly about me. We have to hang on. Good-bye! Let Willie see my letter; he can send it back to you later. Best wishes to all. MAX."

Growing Discontent

These uncensored letters reveal more serious food shortage than was generally known to exist in Germany at that time, and as the fruitless battle dragged on, internal discontent increased. In many of the later letters Lieutenant Madelin found sentiments such as the following, written April 19:

"My Dear Husband: It is frightful; the men are driven by force, as in a slaughterhouse. Naturally, it is only the poor, for the rich do not go so far toward the front. At the beginning of the war one read in the newspapers that such or such a rich man had been killed, but now

it is only the poor that fall on the field of honor. Thanks for the honor! You men yonder are getting yourselves blown to pieces, and we at home are dying of anxiety and sorrow for you."

Another woman wrote from Hünfeld about the same time: "Of those who caused the war, no one is dying."

The "war for food" also is the theme of many angry letters. A housewife of Düsseldorf wrote to Soldier Blumenfeld of the Thirty-ninth Reserves on April 23: "Almost every day the general war of women. They fight in the street like tinkers. You poor devils fight at the front, and we women fight for a mouthful to eat." One wife asks to be told the truth, once for all. "Now, my dear," she writes to Soldier K. on April 25, "tell me frankly whether you think Verdun will be taken. It is said here that you will never get Verdun."

A German Banker's Letter

To this disturbing question a sufficient answer is afforded by the letter of Banker S., an officer of the reserve on sick leave. On April 26 this solid citizen, financier, and soldier wrote to another officer at the front as follows:

"The economic situation in Germany unfortunately leaves a painful impression, and if war with America is to be added, the population will end by dying gradually of hunger. Meat, for instance, has not been seen at all for a week in K.; * * * the town furnishes spoiled meat to the indigent, but no one can eat it. Sugar, coffee, tea, &c.—all are confiscated.

"The doctors have already ascertained that the civil population of Germany is suffering from insufficient nourishment. The manufacturers of war supplies alone are making millions, and are well satisfied with the business. All the others are sighing and recriminating. Besides, not a man believes peace is near, and a possible war with the United States even finds much favor here, because the silly people believe that by a more energetic submarine war we could soon finish with England. It seems, too, that in Germany the people still hope for the fall of Verdun. There will be a fine disillusionment at the end."

Lieutenant Madelin remarks that the writer of this letter is no unfortunate, soured by misery. He judges from above, but after having viewed things closely. His letter is in a way a summing up of the whole mass of correspondence. The author adds that a still more forcible

summary is found in the words of the German father who wrote to his soldier son: "This war will not be ended with arms. The side that has something to put in its stomach the longer is the one that will win, and that does not mean us."

A German Wife's Letter to Her Husband

The following pathetic letter from a loving wife was found by a Canadian officer on the body of a German soldier after a charge on the Somme battle front:

O H, my dearest, I have almost lost my senses—do write often. I have had no news of you since Sept. 25, though after that I received a letter dated the 23d, for which I thank you with all my heart. Honestly, darling, I fret too much for you, but I know that you are worth it. But, dearest, I fear that when you return I shall look too old for you, for, dear, I look very haggard. There are strange lines around my mouth which were not there before, and I have also grown thin. Yesterday I went to Altdamen and father said, "Good heavens! you are drying up." I am ill, and I'd rather be dead if there were no hope of seeing you again; but the thought of seeing you always cheers me up a little.

As to the war and everything in connection with it, there is nothing more to be said. If I write about it I only make it harder for you. I only say that I am getting gray hair from this war. I could scream with desire for you, dearest, my longing for you is so great. And then I would like my own home—no, nobody can replace it to me here. It was already hoped for certain that the end was coming, and that we could all go to our homes, women as well as men; but now again we shall go through another

terrible Winter, and when it comes to an end we shall go through another Summer, and so it is, and so it will continue. What we ought to think we do not know. Some say that the war is only half finished.

Well, dear, when you return our Zotti will go to school. But who knows how everything will be then, for many a heart has ceased beating, and so many mothers and children are left to their fate! * * * Everything is so unjust, just as with the selling of wheat. What isn't worth anything the poor people get, and the rest the gentry receive—they have all the money while the war lasts. Germany is insane. This or that person thinks himself better than another. I would know what to do if I were in the field—but I will say no more about it.

Your little Zotti is still well and cheerful, but he has a great longing for his dear papa. He often says to me: "Papa stays away a long time. Isn't the war over yet?" But if his father should really come back, perhaps on leave, then he would go to the station with a great bunch of flowers. Hoping that this will soon be fulfilled, and with countless kisses, your G. and little Zotti.

[Little Zotti's father fell in action soon after receipt of this letter, and one more woman's broken heart was added to the millions which the war has produced.]

Uncensored Austrian War Letters

DMITRI OBLONSKI IN RUSSKOYE SLOVG, MOSCOW

M. Oblonski, a war correspondent widely known in Russia, came into possession of twenty-seven letters written by Austrian soldiers and meant to be dispatched to their homes through special messengers, without being censored. The letters constitute a valuable addition to the human documents of the war.

AND, my comrades, we are all awaiting with impatience the day when all this will end. How it will end is a matter of indifference to us. One must be here, one must go through all that we are going through, in order to arrive at the stage where it becomes a matter of indifference whose the victory shall be. That does not interest us; all that matters is the question of when we shall be enabled to rest."

This excerpt from an Austrian soldier's letter indicates the degree of spiritual weariness pervading the armies of the Dual Empire. This unexampled weariness of war is the theme of every one of the twenty-seven letters at hand.

"If it should continue like this for another three months I shall not be able to hold out. I shall go insane. Even now I cannot sleep, cannot think, cannot even sit quietly in one place. Constant alarm rends my soul. I cannot even pray. Pray for me. * * *"

This was not written by a youngster, but by a fully matured man, for a little further on in this letter he speaks of the fact that should the war continue for another year his oldest son would also have to live through the same horrors. The author of another letter discusses in detail the question of the victims of nervous prostration in the ranks of the Austrian Army.

"Men go to pieces with unbelievable rapidity," he writes. "They collapse for no apparent cause, even during the weeks when we are kept in the rear as reserves. These victims first cease to eat, rapidly losing weight; their noses become sharpened, their eyes sink deep and light up with a feverish glow; their hands begin to tremble. Gradually the sick man grows less and less communicative; he avoids his comrades, he seeks

solitude. Finally he is taken to the hospital. Not long ago one of our soldiers suddenly became insane. It happened at night. We were in the second-line trenches, so that we could sleep restfully. Suddenly, in the middle of the night, I and some of my comrades were awakened by loud singing. We listened. Some one near us was chanting at the top of his voice the same phrase again and again: 'Merciful God, save me, for the sake of my children!' We found the singer and asked him what was the matter with him.

"'Don't you see,' he replied, 'that surrounding us is a sea of blood? Here one tide is coming, there is another, and another still. And so I pray to God to save me. Why, I left several children at home!'

"The poor fellow had to be taken away to the hospital."

The subject next in importance in these Austrian soldiers' letters is that of the increasing disorder in the ranks of the Austro-Hungarian Army. The men are dissatisfied with their commanders. "Our officers altogether lost their heads," says one letter. "Nobody knows anything. Quite frequently it happens during these days like this: We are put aboard a train and told that we are sent to some place. In an hour we discover that we are being dispatched in the opposite direction. Don't imagine that this is done for the sake of keeping military movements secret. No. It is simply that in the last moment a new order has been received from headquarters."

A petty officer, dispatched from the Styria to Tlumach, writes: "Before my departure for here I nearly fell into captivity, exclusively because of the demoralization in our headquarters. The Russians were advancing at a rapid rate.

Our first line was already broken in several places. An order came for us to retreat. This order enumerated the villages through which our route lay. Joseph serves with the staff and read the order himself. And when we began to retreat one of the villages was already in Russian hands. Luckily the force holding it was small. We fought our way out, but were near capture. We all fail to understand what is transpiring with our Generals and officers. They do not at times know what they are doing."

The disorder among the commanders is reflected profoundly in the lack of food and comfort for the rank and file. Almost all the writers complain about the meagreness of the food. "We are far from getting our hot meal every day." "More and more often it is occurring now that we pass the night in one locality, while our kitchens are in another. For the kitchen folk it is, of course, of no consequence, but for us it is far from cheerful to go to bed with empty stomachs." "D—n it! We are beginning to starve formally. You understand that I cannot be pleased with this. I won't be able to stand it very long." The author of this last piece of intelligence did not have to stand it much longer, for he was killed near Tysmenitz.

Here is an excerpt from another letter concerning the movements of detachments:

"You cannot imagine what enormous marches we are forced to make. A march of twenty-five to thirty miles a day is now a mere nothing. This, of course, is a small matter, for we are at war, and war is our business as soldiers. But what is bad about it all is that we are driven about for nothing, i. e., today we are sent in one direction and tomorrow in the opposite. Recently I even began to curse, for we were handled in a really beastly fashion. We walked a whole day along a railroad. Some of us inquired: 'Why are we sent on foot? Why not put us aboard a train?' But the officers and the railway officials at every station told us that there were no trains. At the same time several empty cars passed by us. They were wide open,

as if challenging us. Was this not a swinish act?"

Some of the letters discuss the Austro-German relations. The passages devoted to this subject lead to two conclusions. First, the Austrians are beginning to give credit to their German ally for its organizing abilities. "Where the commanders are German, we do not starve," writes one Austrian to his wife. Another takes the question up at more length. "The Germans—this is an altogether different business. They never lose their heads, they work like machines. It won't happen under them as under our staff officers that several companies come to the same place to pass the night. Under their command we are not forced to make any unnecessary marches. Everything is calculated by them with mathematical exactitude." A third writer says: "One ought to give credit to the Germans. They take care of our supply lines and our sleeping quarters better than our own officers."

The second conclusion to be made from these letters is that the hatred felt by the Austrian toward the German has grown much stronger. There are no curses so deep, no ill wishes so black, that the Austrians hesitate to bestow them upon the heads of their allies. The first reason for this hatred is rather universal. The Germans are the real culprits of this war. At least, they are responsible for its prolongation. "They are our real enemies." "The Germans have finished Austria." "If it had not been for Wilhelm, I would have been with you and the dear children long ago." Such are the expressions found in these letters.

The second reason for the hatred of Germany by the Austrians is the cruelty of the Germans. "Are we then considered as human beings in their eyes? We are cattle to be sent to the slaughter if this be necessary to the German commander. They are treating us as cattle. When an attack is to be made, we are sent first. After many of us have been slaughtered, the Germans, under cover of our corpses, continue the offensive. Oh, if you only knew how I hate our dear allies for their cold cruelty!"

Home Life in Europe Under the Shadow of War

THE effect of the war on domestic life, on actual modes of existence, and on social arrangements generally has been to give the great cities in the belligerent countries a quite unusual aspect. The absence of lighting which the authorities have decreed as a precaution against aerial raids or for the sake of economy, the detailed regulation of what people shall eat, the transformation of the occupations and habits of enormous numbers of both men and women, the conversion of hotels and the mansions of the rich into hospitals, the presence everywhere of hundreds of thousands of cripples and invalids—these are only a few of the features which distinguish life today from what it was in the early Summer days of 1914.

For the millions who are not at the front the war has brought a feeling of depression that would be intolerable but for the work they have to do as civilians. There is hardly any one who is not in mourning or is not afflicted by the sight or thought of a wounded relative, or is not anxious about one or more men in the firing line. Work and such amusement as war conditions permit are the only distractions from a state of things that could easily drive people mad. And it is in the home and the social life of which the home is the focus and centre that the war finally makes itself felt. It is there that the human values of the vast conflict are arrived at, values that spell loss and depreciation.

London in Total Darkness

The plunging of London into darkness by night was, perhaps, the first intimation of the ever deepening gloom that has followed in the wake of the war. A typical instance of how the home, with its welcoming windows aglow with light, has now to be blotted out is that of the policeman knocking at the door and calling attention to the fact that a narrow shaft of light is coming through a slit

between the blind and the window frame. The officer of the law points out that the householder, more often in these days a woman, is liable to prosecution for having failed to cover the offending aperture not a quarter of an inch wide. To save trouble he himself calls for thick brown paper and a pot of paste and covers the slit through which the light had penetrated into the outer darkness. Numerous householders and shopkeepers who have not acted promptly when warned have been punished by fine for the smallest of luminous patches on the buildings they occupy.

By night London and other great cities are lost in a world of darkness so profound that even an old inhabitant can go astray as easily as if he were in the heart of an African forest on a moonless night. The nocturnal obscurity has increased the dangers of the streets a hundredfold. The driver of a motor bus or car has to feel his way through the mysterious streets like a ship's Captain in a thick fog. And, naturally, no one ventures into the streets unless compelled to. The only fortunate aspect of the situation is that the criminal element has well-nigh disappeared, and with it the likelihood of being held up.

The theatres and vaudeville houses have been affected by the "black-out" regulations, matinées being substituted as far as possible for evening performances. And the gay night life has also felt the change. Imagine the "Great White Way" of New York City plunged in darkness, and you can understand what it is like in and about Piccadilly Circus and Leicester Square in London or on the boulevards of the "ville lumière," as Paris rejoices to be known when she is her own gay self.

Paris Economizing Fuel

The early closing of shops and stores and the rigorous limitation of hours during which alcoholic drink may be sold

have also helped to take the gayety out of the social life of the big cities. One reason for early closing has been the necessity of economizing fuel. The recent official order issued in Paris stated that it was

a matter of urgency to supply all the coal necessary to the factories that are forging arms for France. The Government has decided to restrict the lighting of shops. We invite Parisians to copy this measure by insisting on economy of fire and lights in their homes.

Practically all the big stores are now in consequence closed at 6 o'clock, although smaller places keep open later, but instead of using gas or electricity have had to fall back on candles and oil lamps. It is now no uncommon sight to see the interior of a little store lighted with candles with bottles for candlesticks.

At the beginning of the present Winter the British Government issued a drastic early closing order. In London before the war most of the larger stores and offices closed at 6 o'clock, but for some time past 5 o'clock had become the general closing hour, mainly on account of the lighting restrictions and the difficulties of traveling home to the suburbs after dark. The Government welcomed this voluntary reform because it meant a saving in the consumption of coal. The new order provides that until the end of April, 1917, customers, except at restaurants and drug stores, must not be served after 8 P. M. on Fridays, 9 P. M. on Saturdays, and 7 P. M. every other day.

Workers in munition factories who do not finish till 8 o'clock or later have protested, particularly the women, who said they would not be able to find time to do their shopping. The shopkeepers in the poorer districts also protested, and it was complained that Cabinet Ministers and their wives, accustomed to deal at the better-class stores, which had already fixed their own closing hours, were out of touch with life in the working-class districts. But in this, as in so much else, the people have had to learn to adapt themselves to war conditions.

In France another recent order directs the closing of all stores at 6 P. M., and restaurants and cafés at 9:30 instead of 10:30. Theatres are closed on Mondays, motion-picture shows on Tuesdays, and

cabarets and vaudeville houses on Wednesdays. The National Board appointed to supervise war economies may order additional closing days, and also the stoppage of the elevators of many buildings to reduce the consumption of coal. According to M. Sembat, the Minister of Public Works, the price of coal increased from \$16.20 a ton in April, 1916, to \$28 a ton in May.

Food Scarce Everywhere

The food problem affects domestic and social life most of all. All the belligerent countries are fighting the common enemy, hunger. Even England, where the policy of "starving out Germany" has been so strenuously advocated, is feeling the pinch, and has recently followed the German example and appointed a "food dictator." The banquets and other convivial gatherings which enliven London life have become things of the past. From various sources we have reports from which the gravity of the food problem in the several warring countries may be gathered. D. Thomas Curtin, an American observer who has been in Austria and Germany a good deal during the war, and whose articles in *The London Times* have attracted much attention, writing of the food situation in Austria, says:

"Food conditions in Austria are much more varied than in Germany. The organization is not so good, so that in certain areas supplies are comparatively abundant, while in others there is a scarcity approaching, though not yet reaching, very real hardship.

"The situation resembles the situation in Germany in this respect, that the great towns act as sponges, absorbing all the nutriment in a zone twenty or thirty miles from the city. In these areas and in the great cities the food conditions are always worse than in the remote districts, where the inhabitants can hoard more effectively and can make use of their own produce.

"Vienna is not so well provisioned as Berlin. The municipal kitchens have not Prussian perfection. The richer classes, however, are not suffering. Money is more powerful. The rich landowners are

living very much their ordinary life, to the extreme dissatisfaction of their poorer brethren. The Germans are docile, but the Austrians, with the exception of the Bohemians and Hungarians, are even more so, and the whole of Austria is dominated by Big Brother Prussia.

Meatless Days in Austria

"In Vienna there are three meatless days a week, in Budapest two; and this state of affairs is worse than it sounds, because, although meat is allowed to be sold on other days, it is often unobtainable. The rise in prices is greater than in Germany; the shortage of fat, if possible, worse. The population are cursed with innumerable taxes and with regulations which annoy and irritate, and to which they do not take so easily as the Germans. Great bitterness is caused by the tyrannical conduct of the German Supply Association, which by agreement compels the Austrians, and particularly the Hungarians, to supply great quantities of eggs, vegetables, lard, and butter each month.

"Austrian and Hungarian newspapers appear with whole columns obliterated by the censor. It is evident from the context that many of these excisions have to do with food problems. From some portions of Lower Austria came the first rumors I have ever heard of anything approaching real starvation. The rivers and lakes are netted night and day for fish, the wheat crop in several places (but not in Hungary) was thrashed and ground at the first moment of ripeness. In general the countless food regulation schemes are in a state of chaos.

"The Austrians, before the war, were almost the greatest coffee drinkers in Europe. Their supplies of real coffee lasted longer than those of the Germans, but they are now complaining bitterly, for they drink either an acorn or burned barley coffee substitute."

Germany's Food Problems

In Germany, according to a report from an anonymous American observer, who speaks with authority and who gave the information to John L. Balderston of the McClure Newspaper Syndicate, the chief trouble is the supply of meat. The

shortage of potatoes and other vegetables and of cereals has caused, and still causes, much hardship, but nothing compared with the difficulty of obtaining meat. A meat famine is inevitable, declares Mr. Balderston, who goes on to say:

"The figures have only to be stated in their naked simplicity for the situation to be appreciated at a glance. There were between 23,000,000 and 24,000,000 cattle in Germany when the war began, of which between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 were calves, according to the estimate of the food experts who tackled the problem later. Shortly before the appointment of Adolf von Batocki as Food Dictator, a census was taken by the Government of all live stock, and this showed that on May 1 this year only 19,800,000 cattle were left. Six million of these were calves, and the Government decided that 8,000,000 must be set aside for breeding and to insure the milk and butter supply. This left only 5,800,000 cattle in the country which could be killed and eaten, and of this number more than one-fifth were two-year-olds.

"The blockade makes impossible the importation of meat, excepting in small quantities and at prohibitive prices, which are constantly increasing. Despite the meatless days and the shortage of beef, the German people consumed in the first twenty-one months of the war about 4,000,000 cattle over and above those bred during that time.

"At the end of the fourth year of the war, if the struggle continues so long, Germany will have no more beef—unless she kills her milk and breeding stock. Even if peace is concluded in the near future, however, the German food experts are vainly trying to figure out how they can replenish their dwindling herds. The task of importing enough beef to feed 60,000,000 people for many years after the war is one that staggers the imagination, and yet that is what must be done.

"Shortage of fodder complicates the meat situation enormously and threatens to result in the destruction of all the hogs in the empire within another year unless von Batocki can find some way

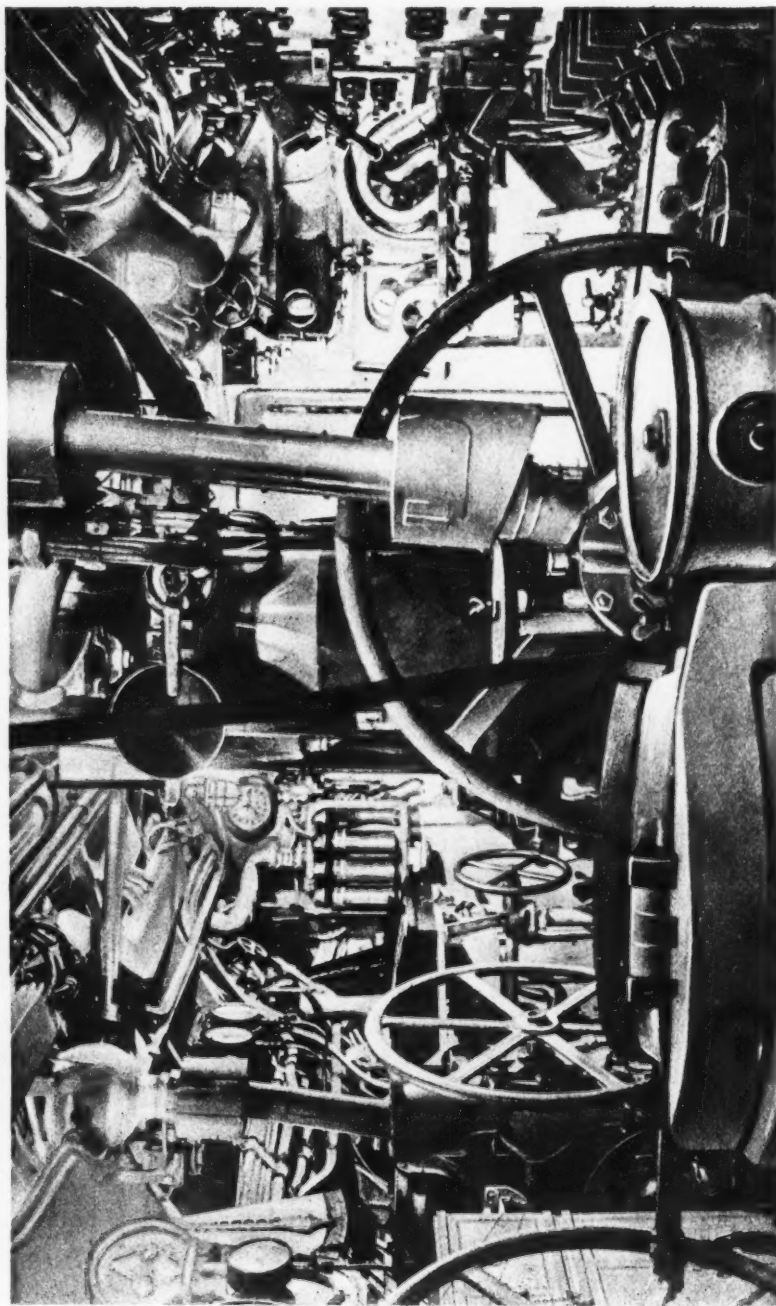
VICE ADMIRAL D'ARTIGE DU FOURNET



Chief Commander of the French Navy in the Mediterranean and
a Prominent Figure in the Clash With Greece

(Photo by Bain News Service)

INTERIOR VIEW OF A GERMAN SUBMARINE, THE DEUTSCHLAND



This Inside View of the Deutschland Shows the Commandant's Post, the Submersion Wheel Being Seen at the Left. The Deutschland Herself Brought the Picture to This Country on Her Second Trip.

out of the difficulty. Germany in peace time imported most of her fodder from neutral markets now closed to her.

Hunger Threatens Millions

"To turn from the meat problem—which will be worse in the future—to the troubles of the present, Herr von Batocki, at a secret conference recently, told a large group of landowners and politicians what the actual position is at the moment. He divided the 60,000,000 people of Germany into four great groups. About 20,000,000, he said, work on the land, and eat what they like of their own produce. Of the remaining 40,000,000, he classed 15,000,000 as soldiers, railway workers, munition laborers, or in some way directly concerned with the carrying on of the war.

"These men and women—for women munition workers are rationed as well as the soldiers at the front—are supposed to eat about the equivalent of 2,400 food calories a day. This figure, Herr Batocki pointed out, is 200 calories more than the minimum upon which life can be maintained without lowering physical and mental efficiency. In the United States the average consumption per capita is about 4,700 calories daily.

"Herr Batocki then pointed out to his very select audience that 5,000,000 people can afford to buy what the law allows them at any prices, but that the remaining 25,000,000 Germans not on the land or in war work had to take what was left, even though the remainder, he said, amounted at the time he spoke to 2,200 food calories, or 200 calories less than the minimum standard for sustaining life. This statement made a sensation, and, needless to say, was not permitted to appear in the German press. Herr Batocki held forth hope that just as soon as the new harvests were in it would be possible to raise the submerged 25,000,000 to or above the sustenance level. There are already indications that this is being done.

"The millions who have thus been forced to consume less than needed to keep them in shape, less than half what the average American eats, are not all of the very lowest social class, but include school teachers, storekeepers, and poorly

off doctors and lawyers, who have no claim on war rations and have not enough money to buy the luxuries available at the shops. The poor must live off the cheap staples, for which they require meat, bread, butter, and potato tickets.

"The reason the rich 5,000,000 can live better is that they can afford other foods for which tickets are not required; the richest millionaire is allowed by law no more of the ticketed staples than the poorest laborer, although the public believes that by hook or crook the rich get about all the bread, butter, and meat they want, through collusion with the grocers, who reap huge profits by this illegitimate trade at enormous prices.

"To sum up the food situation, Germany cannot be starved out—unless the war lasts four years, when her meat will be gone—though with a bad harvest one-third of her population may be reduced to the verge of famine. She is, however, living on her capital stock in meats, and how that stock is to be replenished when peace comes worries her statesmen, and even has a strong influence in moderating the terms on which she is willing to stop fighting."

Food Dictator in England

The British Government's proposals for handling the food problem were outlined in the House of Commons on Nov. 15, 1916, by Walter Runciman, the President of the Board of Trade, who announced that a Food Controller was to be appointed, with full power over all departments concerned in food supplies, and that immediate steps were to be taken to restrict the luxurious use of sugar, to prevent waste and the making of large profits in milk and potatoes, and to forbid the milling of pure white flour. In regard to wheat, the Government had taken advantage of the abundant harvests of Canada and Australia, which had been augmented by supplies from the United States, but the following year Great Britain would have to depend largely on Australia. If necessary, a system of food tickets would be adopted.

A few days after this announcement Mr. Runciman discussed food economies with representatives of the leading London hotels. He said that the Christmas

bill of fare advertised by one establishment was scandalously wasteful and extravagant, and that the catering trade must set its house in order. Menus must be cut down drastically, and there must be one or two meatless days a week. A "meatless" day might mean neither meat nor fish. There was also too lavish expenditure on rich cakes and candy. As a result of this discussion the management of the Savoy Hotel withdrew its circular, in which it had advertised a Christmas dinner to cost, exclusive of wines but including light refreshments at the buffet during the Christmas entertainment, from \$5.25 to \$6.25 a head.

Luxuries for Wage Earners

One of the most extraordinary features of the war in the great centres of population is the enormous amount of money being spent, due to the fact that the huge loan expenditures have put unusual amounts of cash into circulation in the form of workers' wages or as business profits. There is no unemployment problem in any of the belligerent countries, and wages are high, although purchasing power has been reduced by inflated prices.

Among the poorer classes there is an almost riotous profusion of luxuries they only dreamed of before the war. The phenomenon is most marked in London. Storekeepers in the most fashionable part of the city tell of such cases as that of the coster woman—the London 'Arriet—who ordered a sealskin coat with collar and cuffs of sable and a wide border of the same fur around the bottom of the coat to be made specially for her; also a large velour hat trimmed with the largest feather obtainable. A girl making better money in a munition plant than she had ever made before insisted on paying an extravagant sum for a necklet of real ermine, for it had always been her ambition to have "a bit of real ermine," and now war conditions had put it in her reach. She was wearing one of the latest velour hats with an expensive osprey.

The stores were never so crowded, nor has money changed hands more freely than in these days in London. The businesses chiefly benefiting by the trade

boom are the dry goods stores, dressmakers, milliners, piano dealers, middle-class jewelers, and shoemakers. Thousands of households are enjoying increased incomes because daughters who previously did not make much money, or did not go to work at all, are now earning high wages. Women who formerly made their own clothes are now buying them. The increased number of marriages owing to the war is another factor; while large sums are spent on sending comforts and gifts to "the boys at the front."

German Women and Fashion

Even in Germany, where Government control is a stern reality, the temptation to indulge in luxury cannot be suppressed. To quote Mr. Curtin again:

"It must not be supposed that the life of feminine Germany is entirely a gloomy round of duty and suffering. Among the women of the poor things are as bad as they can be. They are getting higher wages than ever, but the food usury and the blockade rob them of the increase

"The middle and upper classes still devote a good deal of time to the feminine pursuits of shopping and dressing. The outbreak of war hit the fashions at a curious moment. Paris had just abandoned the tight skirt, and a comical struggle took place between the Government and those women who desired to be correctly gowned.

"The Government said, 'In order to avoid waste of material, you must stick to the tight skirt,' and the amount of cloth allowed was carefully prescribed. Women's desire to be in the mode was, however, too powerful for even Prussianism. Copies of French fashion magazines were smuggled in from Paris through Switzerland, passed from dressmaker to dressmaker, and house to house, and, despite the military instructions and the leather shortage, wide skirts and high boots began to appear everywhere."

Social life in Germany is particularly interesting as regards the position of women; and Mr. Curtin has much of interest to tell us of how it has been affected by the war:

"German authorities are utilizing every kind of woman. The social evil, against which the Bishop of London and

others are agitating here, [in England,] was effectively dealt with by the German authorities, not only for the sake of the health of the troops, but in the interests of munitions. Women of doubtful character were first told that if found in the neighborhood of barracks they were liable to be arrested, and when so found were immediately removed to their native places and put into the nearest cartridge filling or other shop. The double effect has been an increased output of munitions for the army and improved health for the soldier, and such scenes as one may witness in Piccadilly or other London streets at night have been effectively squelched by the strong Prussian hand, with benefit to all concerned.

Burden of Food Problem

"The lot of the German woman has been much more difficult than the lot of the woman in the allied countries, for upon her has fallen the great and increasing burden of the struggle to get enough to eat for her household. In practically all classes of Germany it has been the custom of the German to come home from his work, whether in a Government office, bank, or factory, for his midday meal, usually followed by an hour's sleep.

"For him special food is always provided, and the wife and children sit round patiently watching him eat it. He expects special food today. The soldier, of course, is getting it, and properly, but the stay-at-homes, who are all men over 45 or lads under 19, still get the best of such food as can be got. National work in Germany means war work pure and simple, and now, as we have read, the women are to be treated exactly as the men in this respect, except that they will not be sent to the front.

"The feeling of German women of the lower classes seems to rise and fall in curves, changing apparently about every three months. There was a great curve of rebellious talk, food talk, and peace talk in July. Immediately following the Somme offensive, the losses in which were not known for some weeks, but which trickled through gradually, there began the agitation for the great muni-

tion strike which was to have taken place on Aug. 1. The dimensions of this proposed rising seem to have been effectually concealed by the German censorship. I found very little about it in the English newspapers which reached Berlin, but what I did read were isolated fragments, such as the Kaiser's appeal to the people on Aug. 1, which, if it be referred to, will be found to include a special appeal to the workers. No one in England seems to know about this important movement.

"What happened was that there was a significant movement of machine guns to all points of danger, such as the Moabit district of Berlin, and Spandau, together with countless warnings against so-called 'anarchists.' The German Government went through a period of anxiety, and the story, if I had space here to tell it, is one of intense dramatic interest.

"Casual visitors to Berlin hotels knew nothing of the subject. The interned American and other neutral correspondents dare not say a word about it, and this great suppressed upheaval has passed away for a time with other incidents of the war that have been so effectively gagged."

These glimpses of social and domestic conditions show that the war has wrought great changes; and it is certain that after the war European life will have a new color and a new tone. At present the effect of the war on social life is to eliminate practically all ideas except those of waging war and solving the serious household problem of sufficient food. The war, too, has had its effect upon customs and manners. The social castes, which are alien to American ideas, have been subjected to a process of disintegration; and, though it is too much to hope that the result will be a real advance toward democracy in sentiment or social relations, the effect of the war cannot be obliterated.

But the chief impression that life under war conditions produces is one of depression. So many things that in normal times lend spice and savor to life have disappeared. A thousand social and intellectual activities have been paralyzed; and, though the prosperity that has come into the homes of many poor people is a

new sensation, it is accompanied in almost every case by bereavement, by the affliction of seeing relatives and friends the wrecks of their former selves, or by the gnawing anxieties which haunt those whose men are still unscathed on the battle fronts. The chief fact, the overwhelming fact, in the homes of the war-

ring people is to be found in the countless names of the killed and wounded. In those cities where the authorities have decreed black nights the darkness of the streets and public places is but a symbol of the gloom in which millions of homes and centres of social life have been plunged by the war.

[French Cartoon on the Berlin Food Riots]

Hunger über Alles



—Forain in *Le Figaro*, Paris.

GERMAN WOMAN RIOTER: "They eat! Those Frenchwomen eat!"

Edison Foresees the Downfall of Kings

Thomas A. Edison, who predicted at the beginning that the war would last three years, has recently told an interviewer that the war means the approaching end of autocratic Kings in Europe. He said:

Only three existing European Governments will endure, I think—the British, the French, and the Swiss. Britain is as republican as our own United States. The King is its social head, but Parliament makes its laws. A new order is coming everywhere, and it will be the republican order.

The non-republican Governments will die. They will die hard, perhaps, but they will die ere long. The people of the world undoubtedly have willed that they shall be their own masters, and what the people will is sure to come to pass.

That same modern science which is making this great war so terrible, those same developments of modern thought which have been used so cleverly by sophists to bolster up the German theories, are working toward this end.

This war was planned by the masters of two nations of Europe as a means with which to thrust upon the shoulders of great masses new burdens, but it will work out to be an instrument through which the people will get rid of some of the burdens which they have borne in the past. The world, I think, now is throwing a rider which for a thousand years has bestridden it.

Hindenburg's Letter on the Food Situation in Germany

Field Marshal von Hindenburg sent the following important letter to Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg on Sept. 27, 1916:

YOUR EXCELLENCY is aware of the magnitude of the task confronting our war industries if the war is to be brought to a successful issue. The solution of the labor question is at the same time a crucial matter, not only on account of the number of the workers but more particularly because of the individual productivity realized by means of sufficient nourishment. In the most praiseworthy way the War Food Department (Kriegsernährungsamt) has devoted especial attention to the feeding of the munition workers. Nevertheless, while this department was able to exercise some slight influence in the carrying out of the necessary measures, it lacked the unanimous and devoted co-operation of the central authorities of the country and that of the subordinate and communal administrations. Among these bodies it does not seem to me to be sufficiently clearly realized that this is a matter of the existence or the nonexistence of our people and our empire.

It is impossible for our workers to continue productive unless means are found to provide them with an equitably distributed quantity of fat. It is reported to me from the Ruhr coal fields and other districts that it has never been possible to provide anything like an adequate and proper fat supply. In our victorious land (Siegerland) the provision of food of this description has for the last two months been quite insignificant.

It would appear that in the purely agricultural districts of Germany, and also among our leading agriculturists themselves, these things are not sufficiently understood. What the agriculturist is called upon to do is not only to look—as,

of course, he is bound to look—after the increase of produce, but also to see that this produce, especially fat, should be freely supplied for use in amplest measure. State compulsion is an empiric means promising but little result, but I can undertake to guarantee success if there is organized among the leaders of agriculture a complete and thorough-going propaganda in favor of the proper feeding of our war industry workers. All State regulation of consumption must fail unless the intelligent, voluntary co-operation of all classes in town and country be forthcoming, and unless every German is fully convinced that this co-operation is just as much a patriotic duty (vaterländische Pflicht) as is the sacrifice of body and life by our troops on the battlefields at the front.

I beg your Excellency in the most emphatic manner to bring before the notice of all authorities, bodies, and administrations, communal or otherwise, the gravity of the situation, that they may by all the means available secure the plentiful feeding of our war munition workers, that the leading personalities of all parties may enroll themselves as leaders of the great home army working at plow and lathe, and so arouse the furor teutonicus among peasantry and town workmen alike. I am convinced that our official departments—with all their unsurpassed capacity and purity of motive, all their energy and good-will—have become atrophied amid all these prolonged and wearisome discussions as to what is to be done for the best. Irresolution is the result. Your Excellency will not fail to recognize the danger that lies therein. The people want to see strong and resolute officials; then they themselves will become strong also, and will uncomplainingly submit to many a measure, however inconvenient.

Germany Under Civil Conscription

An Unprecedented War Measure

THE German Reichstag on Dec. 2, 1916, adopted a compulsory civilian service bill by a vote of 235 to 19. This is the most drastic step ever undertaken by any Government to mobilize all the man power of a nation by force. It represents the apotheosis of organization in war, and confirms the absolute confidence of the German people in the invincibility of their organizing talent. The execution of this measure is in the hands of General Gröner, chief of the newly created Kriegsamt, (War Emergency Office,) who formerly was chief of the Military Railway Service.

All men of the whole of Germany from 16 to 60 are to be enrolled and controlled from one central organization called the Office of War.

General Gröner thus describes the organization:

"The new War Office represents Germany as a colossal firm which includes all production of every kind, and is indifferent to the kind of coat, civil or military, which its employees wear. The new measures are intended to mobilize all effective labor, whereas up to the present we have only mobilized the army and industry. The whole war is becoming more and more a question of labor, and in order to give the army a firm basis for its operations the domestic army must also be mobilized. All the labor, women's as well as men's, must be extracted from the population, so far as possible voluntarily. But if voluntary enlistment does not suffice we shall not be able to avoid the introduction of compulsion."

Text of the New Law

The measure is called the Patriotic Auxiliary Service law, and it contains four clauses, as follows:

1. Every male German, from the completion of his seventeenth to the completion of his sixtieth year, is, in so far as he has not been summoned to service with the armed forces,

liable to Patriotic Auxiliary Service during the period of the war.

2. Patriotic Auxiliary Service consists, apart from service in Government offices and official institutions, in particular in service in war industry, in agriculture, in the nursing of the sick, and in organizations of every kind of an economic character connected with the war, as well as in other undertakings which are immediately or indirectly of importance for purposes of the conduct of the war or the provision of the requirements of the people.

The control of the Patriotic Auxiliary Service belongs to the War Office (Kriegsamt) set up in the Prussian Ministry of War.

3. The Federal Council issues the provisions required for the carrying out of this law. The Federal Council can make contraventions of the law punishable by imprisonment for not more than one year and by fines to the amount of not more than \$2,500 or by one of these penalties or by arrest.

4. The law enters into force on the day of its proclamation. The Federal Council decides the date at which it ceases to be in force.

A series of six "rules" appended to the law provides for the complex system under which the law is to be administered. These rules place the power fully in military hands and are so worded as to make it impossible for the Reichstag to tamper with them.

Provision for Appeals

Appeals will go before a central committee, set up by the War Office and consisting of two officers of the War Office, one of whom will preside; two officials nominated by the Imperial Government, and one official nominated by the State concerned in the case. Appeals may be made by employers, by employed, or by the President of the local committee.

It is provided that people who come under the law can be called up at any time. "As a rule," there will, in the first place, be a call for volunteers. If this call is not answered "in sufficient measure," a written call will be issued by a committee consisting of an officer as

President and with a casting vote, a senior official, a representative of employers and a representative of employed. Every man who receives a written call must seek work in one of the various categories of work designated in the bill. If he does not actually enter upon such work within a fortnight of receiving the written call, he will be allotted work by the committee last mentioned.

Appeals against the findings of these committees can be made to the military authority of the district, but the laying of an appeal will not justify any postponement of the obligation to begin work. "Respect is to be paid as far as possible to the age, family circumstances, place of residence, health, and previous occupation of the man liable for service."

Another clause provides that nobody shall employ a workman who is engaged, or who has during the preceding fortnight been engaged, in any of the specified kinds of "Patriotic Auxiliary Service," unless the man produces a certificate that he has left his work with the consent of his employer. Provision is made against unjust refusal on the part of employers to grant such certificates.

An Official Explanation

An official explanatory statement appended to the law calls attention to the importance of Clause 3 of the law, which leaves all provisions for carrying out the measure to the Federal Council:

Only the Federal Council can issue the necessary regulations, because the endlessly manifold and constantly changing conditions to which the bill must apply can be met only by movable regulations, easily capable of alteration, and not by rigid statutory prescription.

As regards the exclusion of women, the explanatory statement says:

It seems possible to do without the establishment of an equal compulsion for women, because it is considered that it will be possible, without a special stimulus, to provide in abundant measure the labor of German women which has proved itself so well in the war.

The explanatory statement also contains the following general observations of interest:

Notwithstanding all the successes already won, the German people must still hold firm against the storm of a world of enemies, re-

lying singly and alone upon its own strength and the support of its allies. In order to make victory sure, it is desirable to place the strength of the whole people at the service of the Fatherland. * * *

The home army can still be increased considerably, and hitherto war work has lacked the rigid uniformity and regulation which can alone raise achievement to the maximum, and which alone can guarantee complete success. The object of the establishment, by the Emperor's Cabinet Order of Nov. 1, of the War Office is to embrace the whole population which has not been drawn into army service, and to make appropriate use of this population for the great purpose of defending the Fatherland. * * *

He who is capable of any work has in this great and grievous time no further right to be idle. Thus far every man who is not called to the colors is free to choose whether, to what extent, and in what way, he shall employ his power of work, in so far as he is not bound by official obligations or contracts. This must henceforward no longer be the case to the same extent in the people's war which we are fighting. At home as well as in the field every German man must give his whole strength at the point where the Fatherland needs it most and at the point where, according to his physical and intellectual qualifications, he can render the Fatherland the best service. In deciding what work can be continued at all during the period of the war and what work shall be done by individual persons the only decisive consideration must be whether and to what extent a man's work is of use for the purposes of the conduct of the war and of the provision for the needs of the people, which is closely connected with the conduct of the war.

In such fashion it will be possible to increase, in accordance with requirements, the capacity of the branches of business and the establishments which are peculiarly important for the conduct of the war and for war economy, and yet at the same time to free for military service a larger number of suitable persons. Both at home and in the occupied territories it will be possible at many points to substitute men liable for auxiliary service for men liable for military service.

As in service with the army, so in this whole proceeding, no respect must be paid to social distinctions. For the service of the Fatherland, of whatever kind it may be, there can be only citizens, not ranks and classes.

When such an appeal is made for general participation in the service for the conduct of the war, it may be expected that wide circles of the people will not desire to be backward in love of country and cheerful sacrifice, as compared with those who voluntarily flocked to the colors immediately after the outbreak of war. Beyond doubt many of them at present lack only a suitable opportunity to perform voluntary auxiliary service. If this home service is regulated in a determined and

appropriate fashion, assuredly so many people will gladly take their place in the ranks that compulsion, although it is impossible to do without it as a last resource, will be necessary only in comparatively rare cases.

The provision in the bill that the Federal Council must be left to decide how long it shall remain in force is explained by the remark that "it is impossible to judge the duration of the war, for which, at longest, the bill has a meaning."

A Complex Organization

Large Berlin hotels are being taken over for offices of various departments. General von Gröner has two chiefs of staff, one a military chief, who will control such matters as concern the freeing of men for actual service with the colors and also urgent and immediate requirements of strictly military character. Equal in rank with him is the "technical chief of staff." The latter is not an officer, but a German industrial magnate—namely, Dr. Kurt Sorge, Director of the Gruson works at Magdeburg. Under Dr. Sorge come subordinate groups dealing with different departments, including mines, iron and steel works, chemical works, powder factories, agriculture, and labor.

The actual munitions department, which comes under the military section, has been given a new chief in General Coupette. His office is known as "Wumba," from the first letters of its full official title, *Waffen-und-Munitions-Beschaffungsamt*. Parallel with "Wumba" is the War Labor and Labor Substitute Department under Colonel Marquardt, hitherto Chief of the General Staff of one of the western armies.

The War Labor Department in turn includes two departments—namely, labor and substitutes. A further subsection is the Raw Material Department, with a division for import and export, under Lieut. Col. Häusler, and another division for popular economic questions under Colonel Wilke. The subsections are already working, dealing with a number of individual features, such as industries, various branches of agriculture, &c.

This Central Office for War will have provincial offices in various industrial districts, and will have representatives

attached to every army staff in the field, and also a large number of travelers. There will also be representatives attached to the staff of every inland army corps district. There will be special provincial branches of the Office for War at Düsseldorf and at Metz, in view of the importance of the industrial provinces of the Rhineland, Westphalia and Alsace-Lorraine.

The travelers will be intrusted with the examination of such questions as to whether, in this factory or in that, production can be increased or better methods employed. They will include both practical experts and professional students. Thus students of the technical high schools will be employed as travelers, as subdirectors in industrial factories, and in other ways for which their studies have specially qualified them. By arrangement with the Ministry of Education and the universities this practical experience will be counted as student work and will qualify for routine public examinations, degrees, &c.

Under the *Kriegsamt* is also a department for feeding the population engaged on war work. It appears that Germany's Food Dictator, Herr von Batoeki, will in future have his functions restricted to that of apportioning among old and infirm, young children, and non-working mothers so much of Germany's food supplies as happen to be left over when the needs of the working population have been satisfied.

General Groener's Explanation

In explaining more in detail the operation of the measure General Gröner addressed the Reichstag on Nov. 30, laying stress on the assertion that the law would be executed with common sense. It was far from the *Kriegsamt's* purpose to use irrational, much less violent, means in execution of the law, he said. Germany needed men, who gladly entered the nation's service; men who must be tied down were of no use. It was desired to cover the whole empire's industry with a tremendous network so that all its efforts might be turned into one channel leading to a victorious end of the war.

Much had been said about closing up industrial establishments of a certain

kind, he continued. The people seemed to think that after Dec. 1 some such orders would be issued as "You shut up your place; you close down your factory." That was ridiculous. The speaker hoped that proprietors of such establishments would go themselves to the *Kriegsamt* to see how they could be usefully employed in the great war machinery behind the lines. No cast-iron rules could be laid down; every case would be treated on its own merits. The one-man shop certainly would be spared wherever possible.

Again, the *Kriegsamt* did not dream of issuing such orders as "So many shoemakers will leave Pirmasens today and proceed to Winkeltown," or "So many textile workers will leave Plauen for Winkeltown." Such severe measures would only come as an ultimate step. The *Kriegsamt* would begin by taking work to laborers. Only where question of machines made this impossible would it transplant the necessary laborers, and then the State would see that their families lacked nothing.

Fearful stories had been told also of intended recruiting for civil service, but the Reichstag might rest assured that the *Kriegsamt* did not dream of taking the artist from the theatre to place him in the foundry, where the only thing he could do was to amuse other workers. Nor would it ask professors, no matter how learned, to bore guns or make ord-

nance bags. Not even a registry of civil service recruits would be kept, because it prevented too many men from doing work more profitable to the nation.

One of the principal purposes of the *Kriegsamt*, as outlined by General Gröner, would be to replace as far as possible soldiers, or men who might be soldiers, now employed behind the lines and throughout the country, with men of the civil service. Many people were shuddering at what they considered a violent incision into the nation's economic organism, but it was just this that enabled Germany to conduct the war with such splendid success. He said he could assure the Reichstag that no violent disturbances were necessary, but of course sacrifices would have to be made here and there. He did not know what the future might bring or what new sinister plans the enemy might lay to defame Germany in the world; therefore this thing must be done on gigantic lines.

He declared that it was intended to increase material efforts, increase resources of men, arms, and ammunition, and strengthen the moral power of the German people and their will to win. Such an organization would have the effect of a splendid tonic on the brave men in the trenches when they realized that the people at home were uniting with them in their efforts to win "a glorious peace."

German Organization at the Beginning of the War

DR. WALTER RATHENAU, who at the beginning of the war was appointed to superintend the supplying of the War Office with raw materials, has issued a brochure describing the measures he took to carry out this purpose. It throws a further light on German efficiency methods. Dr. Rathenau says:

On Aug. 4, 1914, when England declared war, the terrible event which has never happened before occurred, and our country became a beleaguered fortress. Shut in by land and by sea, it was now thrown on its own

resources, and war lay before us immeasurable in time and space, in danger and sacrifice. Three days after the declaration of war I could not bear the uncertainty of the position any longer, and I announced myself at the War Office, where Colonel Scheuch received me in a friendly manner. I told him that our country was only provided with the necessary material of war for a limited number of months. He agreed as to my calculation of the duration of the war, and so I put this question to him: "What is being done, what can be done, to prevent a shortage of supplies?"

Dr. Rathenau then went to see the Minister of War, von Falkenhayn, and

it was decided to found a war organization for supplies. He was given a Colonel to assist him, with a secretary, and the bureau started in four small rooms. Finally he got his friend, Professor Klingenberg, the head of the greatest electrical company in Berlin, and another business man, von Moellendorff, to assist in the work:

The first question which met us was a question of discovery. We had to know for how many months the necessary supplies would last. On this hung every measure that we took. The reports of various industries were contradictory to the extent of 10 per cent. in most cases. I was told that I could get the statistics in six months. But I had to get them in a fortnight. * * * A daring conception, a hypothesis was necessary, and this plan succeeded. It was assumed that the average output of German industry would be in the same proportion as in any given large group of firms. The War Office had 900 to 1,000 contractors. If we sent around inquiries to these firms and gathered what their power of production was in their various industries, we should be able to arrive at with some probability the total capacity of the country. It was a question of big figures, and the experiment succeeded. In a fortnight light began to come, and in three weeks we had accurate information. In a few materials the supply was more than sufficient for the war demands at that time, which have since been greatly exceeded. But in the great majority of instances it was much less.

Dr. Rathenau then describes the steps which he took to meet the difficulty:

There were four possible methods to establish industry on a firm basis and to guarantee our capacity for defense. In the first place, all raw stuff in the country had to be put into a position that could be commandeered, and voluntary courses and private desires could no longer be consulted. Every material and every half-manufactured product had to be disposed of in such a way that nothing might be devoted to luxury or its relative needs. The flow of things had to be forcibly restricted, so that they were automatically diverted to those final products and means of manufacture which the army needed. That was the first and most difficult task.

Secondly. [Here the censor has made a complete cut.]

The third source of supply which offered itself to us was manufactures. We had to see that everything that was produced in the country was necessary and essential. We had also to see that new methods of production were discovered and developed where former technical means were insufficient.

And now for the fourth plan. We had to find a substitute for stuff that was in excessive demand in other and more easily made

things. Where it was prescribed that this or that object had to be made out of copper or aluminium, it could be made out of something else. Something different had to be found, and old-fashioned methods of manufacture had to be put on a new basis.

When the old methods became troublesome, owing to the need of material, prejudices had to be broken down, and products had to be made, which was more easily done in view of our means of supply.

These were the methods which came under survey. They were not the solutions of the difficulties, but they showed the way, possible means of solution, and the hope of attaining our ends.

But on the other hand were the obstacles which we could not foresee. We knew that this war industry had to be newly created; we knew that in some new way or other its material would have to be distributed and held in readiness. How could that be done? A new conception was needed of the war industries. Today that is an affair which is now regarded as quite ancient history. Many of these war industries are in every one's mouth. They are known to be well established.

But the paradox of their creation seemed so great that even in our narrow circle, which so clearly thought out the measures to be taken, there was a doubt about the possibility of seeing our plans through. Even the industrials did not give an absolutely warm welcome to the new raw stuffs companies. The metal industries were some of them willing enough. But they asked, indeed, "What use is a company which is nobody's servant; what shall we do with it? We have so far looked after our business, and can do it in the future." Yet they fell into line, partly to please me, and also, perhaps, because, as they said, nothing was lost by doing so.

It was a very different story with the chemical industry. It possesses great captains of industry from the Rhineland, very independent men who carry great responsibilities, chiefs of countless battalions of workmen. There was nothing very uncanny about the new departure to them. An influential gentleman went around the Rhineland with a warning of the new experiment. Finally there was a great meeting, and when the masters realized that an unlimited amount of saltpetre could no longer be given to them, there was a scene which reminded one of the Ball House in Paris in the year 1789.

In spite of that, matters were arranged, and today we are as deeply grateful to the chemical industry for its co-operation as for its output. If this admirable German industry found it difficult to accommodate itself to the first measures which had to be taken, it has perhaps achieved the highest place among our war industries for boldness, initiative, and inventive power.

Nearly every week produced new arrangements. We began with metals, and after that

came chemicals, jute, wool, worsted goods, India rubber, cotton, leather, skins, flax, linen, and horsehair. These industries were arranged partly on the basis of limited companies, partly on the basis of discount companies, (Abrechnungstellen.)

All these proceedings required weeks of preparation, agreement in the industries, understandings about conditions of work, and the creation of new powers, directors, buy-

ers, and warehouses. Our aim was to see that the whole responsible strength of an industry was used for more and more economical production.

Today the official personnel of the companies, subsidiary concerns, and branch organizations of the parent companies numbers thousands, and their turn-over is reckoned by hundreds of millions. This organization has certainly served Germany well.

French and British Food Economy Measures

BOTH France and Great Britain have adopted drastic measures to conserve the food supply. Late in November the French Council of Ministers decided to create an Under Secretaryship of State for Civil and Military Food Supplies, which will be centralized in the hands of M. Joseph Thierry. The department is to be attached to the Presidency of the Council.

The measures with a view to restricting and economizing food and other supplies include:

The rationing of motor spirit.

No fresh pastry.

No fancy bread.

No refined sugar.

Butchers and slaughter houses to be closed one or two days a week.

The Minister of Finance, the Budget Committee, and the Fiscal Legislation Committee are agreed upon the ways and means of the proposed fresh taxation, which is estimated to produce an additional revenue of \$120,000,000:

Mining dues and the tax on horses, carriages, billiards, clubs, and gamekeepers are to be doubled.

There is to be a State dog tax.

The general income tax from 1917 is to be raised from 2 to 5 per cent., with an exemption limit of \$600 instead of \$1,000.

An increase in the wine, cider, beer, and tobacco duties.

Letter postage is to be 3 cents instead of 2 cents.

There is to be a home consumption tax on coffee, cocoa, tea, spices, patent medicines, and mineral waters.

A war tax of \$2.50, plus the percentage of income tax, on all non-mobilized men irrespective of age.

Great Britain has appointed a Food Controller, Baron Devonport, under the provisions of the new law. The Board of Trade and Food Controller are given power:

(1) For a return of milk contracts, sales, purchases, and prices, the object being to limit the increase in the cost of milk.

(2) For a return of stocks of potatoes exceeding twenty tons and of the purchasers of potatoes where the sales exceed twenty tons.

(a) To proceed against any person who wastes or unnecessarily destroys any article of food.

(b) To prescribe the purposes for which an article of food may or may not be used. (For instance, whole milk is not to be given to pigs.)

(c) To prevent the milling of pure white flour from which some of the nutritive properties of the wheat have been abstracted, and to require millers to produce only a "straight grade" flour, which will raise the yield by about 8½ per cent.

(d) To provide for the proper distribution of food—by the use of food tickets, should this become necessary.

(e) To prevent the "cornering" of articles of food.

(f) To fix maximum prices. (It is not intended to fix prices generally, but it may be done in regard to milk and other articles.)

(g) To take over the whole of the wheat crops should the Government so decide.

(h) To secure returns of stocks of commodities held by individuals of contracts entered into for the sale and purchase of such commodities and of the cost of production.

The consumption of sugar has been reduced, its use in certain forms of confectionery is forbidden. These new measures were taken in consequence of the rapid increase in food prices, which rose 5 per cent. in the month of November and averaged 27 per cent. above the prevailing prices in November, 1915, and over 75 per cent. above the average in July, 1914.

Economy in food has become the order of the day all over England. In the dining rooms of the House of Commons pressed nut food is substituted for meats, and vegetable luncheons are served. A

sample vegetarian dinner at 62 cents is as follows:

Cream of Celery.

Mock Sole.

Curry Nuttoria or Mock Veal Cutlets and Stuffing.

Brussel Sprouts or Cabbage. Potatoes.

Hot Apple and Cranberry Tart or Cold Figs and Rice.

Bread, Cheddar or Cheshire Cheese, One Pat of Butter.

The nut dishes are made from a large

assortment of different kinds of nuts, including Barcelona, cashew, cocoanut, chestnut, hazelnut, pecan nut, (from Texas,) pistachios, peanuts, and pine kernels.

The price of milk at retail is limited to 4 cents excess over the pre-war prices. All the London hotels have abandoned the Christmas and New Year's dinner functions.

Cap'n Storm-Along

ALFRED NOYES IN LONDON CHRONICLE

Mr. Noyes, foremost of living English poets, has written a series of sea songs inspired by the war. In this one he glorifies the British trawlers, former fishing boats that now fish for German submarines.

They are buffeting out in the bitter gray weather:
Blow the man down, bullies, blow the man down!
Sea-lark singing to Golden Feather,
And burly blue waters all swelling aroun'.
There's Thunderstone butting ahead as they wallow,
With death in the mesh of their deep-sea trawl.
There's Night-hawk swooping by wild Sea-swallow,
And old Cap'n Storm-along leading 'em all.

Bashing the seas to a welter of white,
Look at the fleet that he leads to the fight.
O, they're dancing like witches to open the ball;
And old Cap'n Storm-along's lord of 'em all.

Now where have you seen such a' bully old sailor?
His eyes are as blue as the scarf at his throat;
And he rolls on the bridge of his rusty black whaler
In yellow sou'wester and oilskin coat.
In trawler and drifter, in dinghy and dory,
Wherever he signals, they leap to his call.
They batter the seas to a lather of glory,
With old Cap'n Storm-along leading 'em all.

You'll find he's from Devon, the sailor I mean.
Look at his whaler now, shipping it green.
O Fritz and his "U-boat" must crab it and crawl,
When old Cap'n Storm-along sails to the ball.

Ay, there is the skipper that knows how to scare 'em,
Blow the man down, bullies, blow the man down!
Look at the sea-wives he keeps in his harem,
Wicked young merry-maids, buxom and brown.
There's Peggy, the sea-witch, and Gipsy, so lissom,
All dancing like ducks in the teeth of the squall,
With a bright eye for Huns, and a Hotchkiss to kiss 'em;
For old Cap'n Storm-along's lord of 'em all.

Look at him, battering darkness to light.
Look at the fleet that he leads to the fight.
O, hearts that are mighty, in ships that are small,
Your old Cap'n Storm-along's king of us all.

The Story of the Möwe's Exploits

Told by an Officer of the German Raider

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Herewith is presented the first full story of the deeds of the Möwe, the famous German sea raider which stole into the Atlantic last January and captured fifteen merchant ships of the Allies. One of these vessels, the Appam, was sent to Norfolk, Va., in charge of Lieutenant Berg and a German prize crew; it was later declared by an American court to be the property of its British owners, though it remains at present in American waters pending an appeal to the Supreme Court. The dramatic account of the Möwe's operations given below is from the log of an officer of the German sea raider.

ROUGH weather and complete darkness enabled the Möwe, in command of Count Dohna-Schlodien, to leave port and reach the North Sea undiscovered. Heavy seas tossed the ship as if she were a nutshell. Many of the crew, old sailors, paid tribute to Neptune. The Möwe's disguise was a clever piece of work. None of the British ships which we passed while breaking through the patrol ever thought of hailing us, believing, of course, that we were on our way to some English port.

It certainly required not a little of nerve to lay mines almost under the noses of the British warships, but favorable, stormy weather with low visibility aided the work, which we carried on all night with feverish haste, every man working to the end of his strength. High seas continually washed over the ship, and made our task more difficult. Below decks everything that had not been fastened securely was smashed to pieces, and in the crew's quarters the water was standing a foot deep. It seemed as if Neptune was in his worst rage and bent on our destruction. Finally, the weather became milder and we could lay the second and third cordon of mines in still better time. With the quiet sea and excellent weather showing, the danger of being discovered was naturally much greater, but John

Bull thought the German rats safely bottled up—never dreaming they would dare to come out to disturb his leisure.

Those first were our worst hours. Everywhere we could see lights of the British patrol ships. The searchlight of one of them even played on the Möwe for some time.

Our commander then had the deck cleared for action, thinking that now the first encounter with the enemy was on hand. But, with true British carelessness, they never thought of coming nearer and investigating the certainly suspicious craft. We went ahead sowing the sea with mines full of sudden death and hell for the ships that stepped on these snakes of the deep. The calmness of Count Dohna-Schlodien had taken possession of



COUNT DOHNA-SCHLODIEN
Captain of the Möwe

every one of us on board. And our work went on with smooth regularity until the last mine, at the end of the third night in the Channel, went overboard with three "Hurrahs."

Count Dohna-Schlodien assembled officers and crew amidships to tell them that his further orders included a cruiser warfare. He intended to search the steamer lanes in the Atlantic and go as far as South America in order to do as much damage as possible to British shipping, and then return to port at the beginning of March. This announcement was greeted with great enthusiasm by all on

board. The following day, Jan. 11, we discovered at some distance signs of the first ship prey, and we quickly were in pursuit. In the meantime another steamer was sighted, which laid a course toward us. However, our Captain managed to come between both of them, and soon the German flag of war as well as the signal "Stop" went up on our mast. To make sure, a shot was fired across the bow of both steamers.

We had come so close we could observe the great confusion that prevailed on both ships. They could not have dreamed of being halted so near their destination by a warship of the German Navy, all of which the British claimed they had driven off the sea. In wild haste lifeboats were swung out, and every member of the crew went after his belongings. The second ship was told to stand by and hold its crew on board while we were making preparations to sink the first steamer—the Farrington, 3,146 tons, hailing from Sunderland. The crew had taken to the boats in complete disorder, but performed the task without accident, except one sailor receiving a fracture of the leg. Their boats were alongside us when our prize crew left to search the Farrington before sinking her. The cargo, consisting largely of copper, was of great value. A few good shots then sent the steamer to the bottom.

A thick fog had come up in the meantime and our second prize had taken advantage of this to make an attempt to escape. The Captain must have thought his chances good for a clean getaway in the thickening weather, because we still had some of our boats out, but he had not figured on the skill of German sailors. In a remarkably short time we had all our boats on board and the chase began.

Our first shot, coming very close to the steamer, did not disturb the Captain. But a second shot, from a distance of about 13,000 meters, went over the bridge and soon brought him to his senses. After half an hour we had reached the steamer and a prize crew went aboard. It was the Corbridge, 3,687 tons, with a cargo of Cardiff coal from Barry on the way to Rosario. It was

the Corbridge's maiden voyage, and this induced our commander not to sink our fine catch—also we would need a part of the coal aboard later on for ourselves. The crew of the steamer was taken over, and she was manned by some of our men with orders to meet the Möwe on a certain day at a fixed place.

Great enthusiasm stirred us all that very evening by the wireless message that the British dreadnought King Edward VII. had struck one of the mines laid by the Möwe and was blown up.

Twenty-four hours of rest gave us an opportunity to overhaul the Möwe thoroughly. The very next day (Jan. 13) we sighted the British steamer Dromonby, in the service of the Royal British Navy, known as No. 526, and on her way from Cardiff to St. Vincent with 5,000 tons of coal. Closing in on her was difficult, and at one time a collision was narrowly averted. But a well-aimed shot and a sharp watch of the manoeuvres of the enemy prevented an accident. The steamer was blown up and sank within two hours.

We had hardly finished this prize when another came in sight. Full speed ahead, we reached her at 3 o'clock that afternoon, but the usual warning had to be given before she stopped and heaved to. It was the Author, with a cargo of 5,000 tons of merchandise from London to Natal. In her cargo we picked out many a good thing for ourselves, a few sheep and large quantities of rice, the latter a welcome addition to the menu of the natives of India we had as prisoners on board. Seven full-bred horses had to be shot, to our deep regret, and as little use we could find for a number of brand-new automobiles on board. This steamer was blown up, but before she sank and we had got away we came into a very dangerous position.

The wind had shifted and the wreck of the steamer was drifting toward us, coming closer every minute. A number of boats loaded with members of the crew and quantities of the seized cargo were still out and prevented our commander from starting the Möwe's engines. These few minutes—hours they seemed to us—would have ended our cruise right

there had it not been for the skill of Count Dohna-Schlodien, who manoeuvred the Möwe out of the course of this dangerous wreck when the steamer had come within a few meters of us. The wreck thus drifted by us and sank while we were still taking natives of India on board. Stern first she disappeared beneath the waves. Night lifebelts of the Author sent their phosphorescent light about as they touched the water, giving a brilliant exhibition of fireworks, which lit up the sky, but they almost scared away a third steamer that had come up in the meantime. Count Dohna went closer to the field of wreckage, had boats lowered again, and the fire was extinguished.

Now the moon had risen, showing the way to the third steamer, which promptly and with supreme confidence signaled her British nationality. We had been accustomed to observe astonished expressions on the faces of the men on every steamer we had captured so far, but the crew of the Trader, for that was the name of our latest victim, seemed to have the surprise of their lives when they learned of our heavy armament. This steamer, of 3,608 tons, with a cargo of sugar of 5,000 tons, was also blown up. While the moon was shining she disappeared like the rest. It was a beautiful sight. She also sank stern first, but capsized in her last moments in a sort of death writhing. The number of prisoners on board the Möwe had now reached more than a hundred, and besides them we had a zoo of monkeys, dogs, cats, and chickens.

The southern course we were traveling brought better weather every day. The nights were cool and refreshing, giving us relief from the heat of the day.

Twenty-four hours were spent establishing quarters for the prisoners below decks, and we had hardly finished this work when the next steamer appeared on the horizon. It was Jan. 15 when we encountered the *Ariadne*, 3,035 tons, from Rosario to Nantes with a cargo of grain. We had quickly come nearer and stopped her in the usual way. Several well-aimed shots fired into her hull beneath the water line, after the crew had

safely got away, finished her. After this work breakfast was greatly enjoyed, but only to be interrupted by the command, "All hands on deck!" when a large steamer was sighted several miles away.

We soon found out that unusual luck had come across our course. This steamer was of large size and great value. She carried wireless, which made it still more difficult to go near her without disclosing our identity. Her feelers were working. Count Dohna took great care not to let this fine prize slip by him. We all knew that the Appam, with her greater speed, could easily have escaped us. But our commander managed to get so close that she had nothing to do but to take notice of our signals.

Again the German flag of war and the signal "Stop" went up; also the order to cut off her wireless station. But, on board of the steamer, our signals did not seem to be heeded until the first shot was fired across the bow of the Appam. Then the Captain apparently understood what we meant. He slowed up, but did not stop altogether. We manoeuvred to follow in the course of the Appam, and soon had her stern before us. There we discovered a gun on her deck and British soldiers in the act of making preparations to fire on us. Well-aimed rifle shots from the Möwe drove the soldiers from their post and a panic broke loose on the Appam.

Men, women, and children were in wild confusion. We saw that the Appam had a large number of passengers on board, who were putting on lifebelts and preparing to leap into boats or into the sea until the arrival of our prize crew. Their assurances that life and personal property would, of course, be spared calmed them.

We had captured an ocean liner of 7,781 tons on the way from Duala to Liverpool with oil, rubber, and cocoa. Among those on board were four British officers and thirty men of the Royal British Navy, who were taken prisoners and brought to the Möwe.

To our greatest pleasure, we discovered twenty Germans, among them three women. Their surprise was great

when we released them from their cabins. With tears rolling down their cheeks, they thanked us and could not understand that their countrymen had come to the rescue in the middle of the ocean when they had given up all hope of seeing the Fatherland for some years to come. The Germans were taken over to the Möwe and given a great ovation by her crew. Count Dohna welcomed them in warm words, and all joined in three cheers for the Kaiser and for Germany. It was a remarkable and touching scene to observe the joy of these liberated Germans.

While searching the ship our prize crew had discovered boxes of gold which represented a value of about one million marks.

The Möwe was now filled to her capacity with prisoners, and we had to find a way to make room for others. The Appam solved this problem. A crew of our men went aboard to stay until we had decided what the fate of the Appam would be. We knew that warships would be near such a valuable steamer, and we did not intend to jeopardize the safety of the Möwe and her fine prize. During the night the gold was taken aboard the Möwe, also the ammunition and the gun of the Appam. Our countrymen we had to send back to the Appam because we could not guarantee their safety on our future cruise. Two of them, however, insisted on staying aboard the Möwe and joining our crew.

On the 16th of January we were making preparations to put all of our prisoners on board of the Appam when another steamer came in sight.

A fast ship it was, equipped with wireless. We immediately started in pursuit and had reached her at sunset. With Morse signals we asked: "What ship are you?" The Captain sent back the same question, but did not obey our order to stop. To prevent her escape the Möwe crossed the course of the ship and again signaled the Captain to stop, adding this time the signal, "Here German cruiser." In the meantime both ships were dashing ahead in a parallel direction. We could observe that the ship was trying her best to get out of our dangerous company, al-

though her Captain sent us the signal: "I have stopped."

At the same time it was noticed that the wireless of the ship was working at a great rate. We were now near the Canary Islands and Madeira. Wireless calls would have warned the British, and no doubt all the ships at Dakar have been armed. When another shot of warning did not bring the Captain to reason a shrapnel hit the ship's wireless station, silencing it.

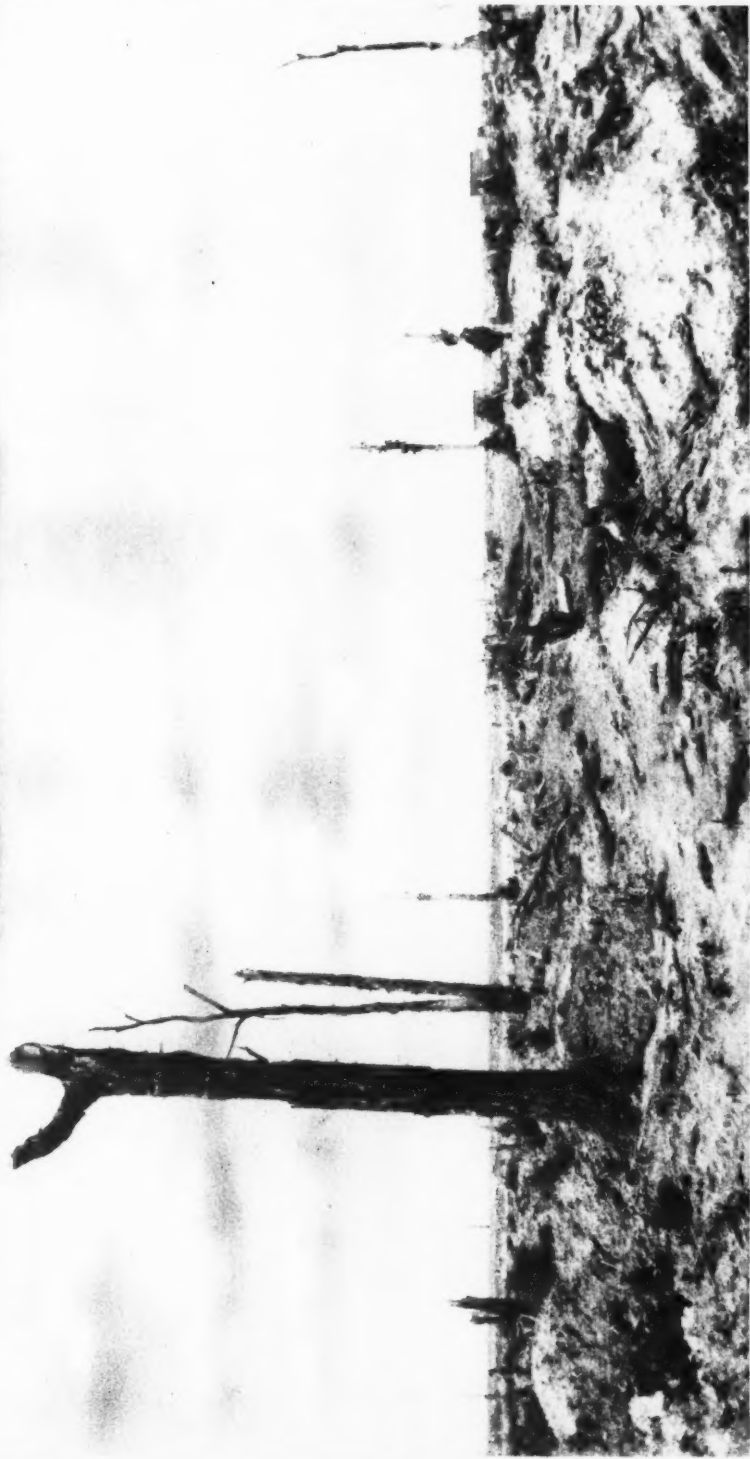
The Clan MacTavish—as we later found out the ship was named—had cleared her afterdeck for action and was aiming a heavy gunfire at us, of course, without any result. This was sufficient for Count Dohna to proceed again parallel to the steamer and rake her, not caring now where our shots landed. Every salvo hit its mark. Soon we heard explosions on board and the ship was in a helpless position. Then her Captain Morsed, "We stop," at the same time ceasing fire. The Möwe's guns were also silenced, and our prize crew went aboard the ship. The men were taken off her, and a Captain and two sailors of the British Navy, who were in civilian clothes, added to the number of our prisoners of war.

The value of this prize was more than eleven million marks because the cargo consisted of skins, cotton, and meat. The steamer had been on the way from Sydney to London. Here in the middle of the ocean her trip was unexpectedly halted. At 9 o'clock that evening the Clan MacTavish, 4,693 tons, was under the Atlantic. Of the seventy natives of India on board the ship, some had been killed by gunfire, to our regret, and four others died shortly afterward. The night was quiet, and the natives buried their countrymen in the ocean. We had now more than five hundred people on board, and it was high time to transfer them to the Appam.

On Jan. 17 this was accomplished in a short time, and Lieutenant Berg received the order to bring the Appam to Newport News as a German prize of war, which he accomplished so well.

The Möwe then went in search of a new field of operations, taking a south-

ALL THAT WAS LEFT OF THE "WOODS OF CHAULNES" AFTER THE BATTLE



A View of the Beautiful Woods Near Chaulnes, on the Somme Front, as They Looked by the Time the French Artillery Had Driven Out the Germans.
(Photo Press Illustrating Co.)

FRENCH VILLAGE OF BOVENT AFTER THE STORM OF HIGH EXPLCSIVES



This Quiet Hamlet on the Somme Was Strongly Fortified by the Germans and Was Captured Only After
Extraordinary Bombardment

(Photo Press Publishing Co.)

easterly course. This brought us out of reach of the German wireless, and we were now left to our fate. It may be remembered that the Corbridge, after her capture, had been manned by our prize crew on Jan. 11 and told to meet us on Jan. 30 at a fixed position. At 11 o'clock that morning she arrived and we had her follow us at a distance to take coal from her when the opportunity should offer.

By this time our cruise on the ocean had become more and more hazardous. From all sides warships of the enemy were closing in on us, vainly trying to locate our position. Jan. 23 brought a fine three-masted schooner, the Edinburgh of Glasgow, 1,437 tons, in sight. She had been on her way from India for over four months and was waiting in the Atlantic for better weather conditions. She didn't get them from us. Before the crew of the schooner recognized our flag of war they were signaling greetings over to us, because they had not passed a ship so near them for several months. And much greater was their surprise when told that they would be made prisoners. But the men did not seem to mind this at all. Their food had been so bad for many weeks that a change was readily welcomed. The Edinburgh was on her way from Rangoon to London with 2,000 tons of rice flour, of which we took over large quantities. The sinking of the schooner was a great spectacle. Dynamite, fastened on bags of flour, caused a high barb of fire to shoot out of her deck. The moon was sending its rays on the sinking ship—silence was all around us—and quietly the crew of the schooner watched their ship go to the bottom.

We were now nearing the day which we intended to celebrate as our first military holiday—the birthday of the Kaiser. Special arrangements were made for the feast, and an exceptional treat was promised in coffee, cakes, and cigars. Beer we had not tasted for a long time. Until this day our prisoners had always seen us in our fighting clothes. They had the surprise of their lives when, on the morning of the Kaiser's birthday, we assembled on deck in full parade uniform, not forgetting our white gloves.

In a short and enthusiastic address Count Dohna remarked that we were the only ship flying the German flag on the ocean, and that we had all reason to do honor to this flag and our German Fatherland by more heroic deeds, whatever the sacrifices might be. Three cheers for the Kaiser ended the ceremony.

On that afternoon the Corbridge came nearer, and Count Dohna decided to give all his men a few hours of rest and anchor at some favorable spot. This was done despite the dangers that were constantly hovering about us. The Corbridge was only a few hundred meters away. Coaling in the middle of the ocean under conditions not at all favorable was a task which took forty-eight hours. We had to cut loose from the Corbridge at times when the swell became too high. At last we had our bunkers filled and had also taken over what provisions still remained on the Corbridge. The ship was then blown up and sank in a short time.

The Möwe, in a cleverly designed new disguise, again laid her course for the steamer lanes, but the first prey was not sighted for several days. It was a Belgian ship, the Luxembourg, 4,322 tons, with a cargo of coal on her way to La Plata.

Our ship's register showed that we had now sent ten vessels to the bottom. The next few days were rather quiet for us. We feared that British cruisers had warned all trading vessels of our presence and were close on our heels. Dynamite and torpedoes were always in readiness. It was the determination of every one on board to defend our ship to the last man, and rather to blow it up and sink with her than have her captured by the enemy.

Not before Feb. 6 did we sight the next steamer, which was the Flamenco, of 4,629 tons, a fine ship. Her Captain tried to call for help, but a shrapnel near the bridge changed his mind, and he was seen standing with raised hands, indicating his willingness to surrender. While the prize crew was taking to the boat, the Flamenco, through some unknown circumstances, came into a dangerous position, and had almost rammed the Möwe.

Only the presence of mind and quickness of our commander averted the danger.

The great number of people on board the *Möwe* caused us some inconvenience. Fresh water began to run short, but our crew did with less in order to let the prisoners have their full measure. Again our engine rooms were completely overhauled and everything put in fine order to get the best possible speed out of our ship. This work was hardly finished when the next steamer appeared on the horizon. As soon as we came nearer, the Captain, with true British impudence, asked our name without disclosing his identity. Great excitement seemed to prevail on board. Some of the crew took to their boats and tried to escape in them. This was a dangerous undertaking in the middle of the ocean. When our prize crew went aboard they found only the Captain and the first engineer, the rest of the ship's company having left them to their fate. The Captain was a fine old gentleman. We found that it was the steamer *Westburn* of 3,300 tons. Our prize crew manned the ship, having orders to follow in our course. At the same time we sighted another steamer, which we chased all night, to be hailed in the morning as the *Horace*, 3,335 tons, with a valuable cargo of oil, cotton, alcohol, and benzine from Buenos Aires to Liverpool.

The *Westburn* reached us within a few hours, and Count Dohna decided to transfer all our prisoners to her. This was interesting work and lasted for some time. That afternoon the *Westburn*, with a few men of our crew and under the command of Lieutenant Badewitz, was directed to take a course toward Santa Cruz on Teneriffe. The *Horace* was blown up.

When the *Westburn* was out of sight we again laid a course toward the coast of Africa, and met a large liner filled with passengers. Count Dohna did not think it advisable to sink this ship, because of the difficulty of taking so large a number of passengers on board, which would have filled the *Möwe* above her capacity. And to send these passengers away in another steamer would have weakened our crew considerably.

Until we again reached the Canary Islands we had nothing to do, and Count

Dohna was now more than ever before bent on going straight home. We spent one night taking the most important parts of the ship's engine down, and we were during this time, of course, absolutely helpless—an undertaking that manifested some nerve on our part. Had a cruiser of the enemy found us at this critical time we would have been lost beyond a doubt.

Many days had passed and no ship was sighted. One morning the well-known alarm bell sounded throughout the ship, and every man rushed to his post. A heavy sea was rolling the *Möwe* from one side to the other and causing much suffering among those on board. We had now captured thirteen steamers and were determined to get beyond this unlucky number. It was written our wish should be fulfilled. A Frenchman, the *Maroni*, 3,109 tons, from Bordeaux to New York, had crossed our course, making the fourteenth ship. She had wine, oil, cork, and seeds aboard, making a valuable prize. The sinking of this steamer was a fine spectacle. It took several hours before she went down, and, with her, went great quantities of wine, of which we had not had a taste for some time. It seemed a shame to see it go into the Atlantic. The next day luck was again with us, sending the British steamer *Saxon Prince*, 3,471 tons, our way.

Shortly after this work was done we heard good news from home. The *Westburn* had reached Santa Cruz, and the *Appam* was safely at Norfolk. The world had been astonished by our deeds, not knowing our name nor our strength and armament. Later we found out that the *Westburn* had left Santa Cruz under the noses of British cruisers and had sunk through an explosion of her boilers.

We had now reached the English coast, and all precautions were taken not to fall into the hands of the enemy at the very end of the raiding voyage. Our prisoners did not attempt to conceal their belief that we soon would exchange parts. Careful preparations and another complete alteration of the appearance of the *Möwe* were made before our dash through the British blockade was again undertaken. Most unfavorable weather

helped. We met ships of the enemy at a distance, but none halted us.

That very night, for we ran through under cover of darkness, before our arrival in a German port we were dangerously close to a flotilla of British torpedo boat destroyers and could not understand why they let us pass without even asking our nationality. We did not hesitate to send their position by wireless to the German naval base.

On the 4th of March we were in wireless communication with German torpedo boats. We were at home, or at least near the home coast. Several hours later we were to be rewarded for all our endurance by the most enthusiastic welcome we ever saw.

It was 10 o'clock in the morning and

the sun had broken through the clouds. In the distance, still far away, we saw our own great fleet. German ships they were, and they had set out to greet us on our home coming. One by one they passed with hundreds of flags hoisted and their crews lined on deck to welcome us. With bands playing "Heil Dir im Siegerkranz!" and "Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles!" two large cruisers passed us a short distance away, covered with flags and signals. We acknowledged this honor by hoisting the flags of all the ships we had sunk during our cruise. Soon we reached our home port, where the heartiest and warmest welcome came from the Kaiser, who conferred on every man on board the Iron Cross.

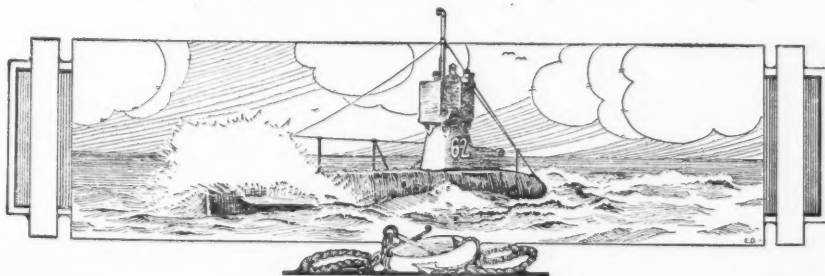
The Submarine

By CHART PITT

A shadow drifts through the sea-floor waves,
Where the old armada sleeps,
Breaking the hush of those ancient graves,
Where the war-god his lone watch keeps.
For them there was sunshine aglint on the sea,
The heave of the flood-tide swells;
In their white-winged ships they wandered free,
With the memory of last farewells.

Gladly and gayly they went to their doom,
With the flutter of banners bright;
Voiceless they sank in the battle-gloom,
With the wreckage adrift from the fight.
A bugle sounded its "Charge" through the night—
Their battle-songs answered its call.
With a banner aflutter before their sight—
Can you measure the bliss of their fall?

So their curses they heap on the gray submarine,
When that shadowy ship glides by—
An assassin that lurks in the seaweed green,
And hides from the light of the sky.
They met the foe in a fair open fight,
In the dauntless days of the yore—
Now wolf-ships wait in the shadows of the night,
When the battle fleet sails from the shore.



Sazonoff and Russian Imperial Intrigues Before the War

V. Vodovozoff, a distinguished Russian Liberal, recently contributed the subjoined article on Sazonoff's resignation to the monthly magazine *Lyetopis* of Petrograd. The accuracy of the translation is vouched for by Professor William G. Hastings of the Law College of the University of Nebraska. The article throws light on some of the dark places of diplomacy in the years leading up to the war.

THE liberal press and the liberal elements of society generally commented upon Sazonoff's resignation with sympathy and compassion; the black hundred and the nationalists for the most part, with some marked exceptions, however, followed him with malicious outcries. * * *

That the moderate-liberal elements of our society were on the whole very little inclined to be satisfied with Sazonoff is entirely intelligible. * * *

[Censored.] * * *

At the present time an important part of our liberal society is not so far estranged from nationalistic strivings as it was twenty or thirty years ago. But the malicious outcry of the "True Russians" is none the less, if even not the more for that, lawful and intelligible. * * * Sazonoff * * * [censored] * * * at all events understood why the Zemschina reproached him so.

D. S. Sazonoff stood at the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for six years, (1910-1916.) It was a notable epoch. It included the Italian-Turkish war, 1911-12; the war of the Balkan alliance against Turkey, 1912-13; the second Balkan war between yesterday's allies of 1913, and, finally, the great world war in 1914 and following years, in com-

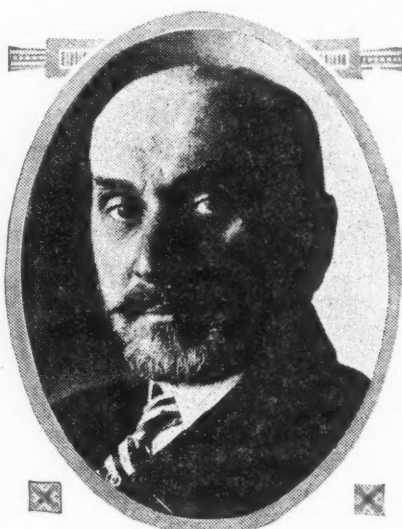
parison with which the former three were like heat lightning far from a storm.

Six years ago there were already assembled against each other two rival combinations of Governments, and Russia's place in one of them was already defined with entire clearness. A triple alliance of Russia, England, and France was the work of Edward Grey in England and of Lamsdorf and Izvolsky in Russia. Sazonoff received it as an inheritance, fully prepared, and his task could only consist in fortifying and strengthening it.

It is impossible, however, to say that Sazonoff with complete firmness and consistency held to one and the same course. The financial dependence of Russia upon France, which

country had advanced to Russia several billions in loans, already creating a concord of the interests of Russian and English imperialism, had led Russia into the channel of the Triple Entente. * * *

[Censored.] * * * It is impossible to forget that he held his post in the time of Premier P. A. Stolypin, that with Stolypin he was in close relationship, (they married sisters,) and that the two men were of a sufficiently near spiritual kinship; also that Sazonoff, at the beginning of his Ministerial career, made use of his recognized reputation as a "nationalist."



COUNT SERGIUS SAZONOFF
Former Russian Foreign Minister
(© American Press Ass'n.)

Favored Germany at First

The German sympathies of Sazonoff are shown in the Potsdam agreement concluded by him with Kinderlen Wechter at the beginning of his Ministerial career. Striving to strengthen peaceful and friendly relations with Germany, Sazonoff underwent important sacrifices. He checked opposition to the carrying through of the Bagdad railway by the Germans, and consequently gave up all Asia Minor into economic dependence upon Germany; more than that: Russia not only permitted the uniting of the Bagdad line with Teheran, but bound herself to finish an indispensable part of that section of the railway. In such a way Russia opened a Persian market for German goods, and to the altar of political friendship they brought as a sacrifice the interests of Russian business and industry, counting Northern Persia as their indefeasible inheritance. At the present time, when friendship has changed to animosity, the Potsdam agreement appears as a fine trump card for Sazonoff's enemies of the nationalistic press. In its time the black hundred and the nationalists were very well satisfied with it.

But general conditions, pushing Russia into the channel of the Entente, were stronger than German sympathies.
* * * [Censored.] * * * Soon Sazonoff decisively drew off from them and busied himself with cultivating an Anglo-French friendship.

Sazonoff Ousted Shuster

Already in Izvolsky's time friendliness had delimited the spheres of influence of England and Russia in Persia. Sazonoff continued the policy, by degrees, according to possibility, of full subjection to use of the northern half of Persia. For that aim [censored] he accomplished the removal from Persia of the American, W. Morgan Shuster, who, in the capacity of Secretary of the Treasury, was assisting in straightening up Persian finances. Finally, in 1912, Sazonoff presented an ultimatum which required Persia to submit to all his demands. In his policy of gradually subduing Persia, Sazonoff all the time went hand in hand with Grey, who, in his turn

in the same way, brought Southern Persia under English sovereignty.

Also with Grey—but precisely, too, as with Japan—Sazonoff went hand in hand in his policy regarding China. Here Russia stepped forward, and in 1911 presented China with a decisive ultimatum, a demand of full subjection, and in 1912 accomplished the autonomy of Mongolia, and that country found itself from that time in the sphere of exclusive Russian political and economic influence.

The first attempts to unite with Japan after the unfortunate war with her had already been made in Izvolsky's time; but only in Sazonoff's recent past was that war finally forgotten. At the same time the coming together of Japan and England quickly took place, and finally, by a difficult experiment, Japan showed herself an inseparable supporter in upholding the Triple Entente. England's aim was to try to isolate Germany. It was achieved here.

His Policy in the Balkans

Far more important, however, than the politics of Dalny and the Eastern centre were the politics in the Balkans. Sazonoff's predecessor, Izvolsky, throughout his whole Ministry, found himself heavily handicapped by the effect of Russia's defeat in the war with Japan and by the necessity of clearing up the war's results; it was, therefore, perfectly natural, perhaps, that extreme carelessness lay at the base of his policy, especially in the Balkans, where the danger of lighting a terrible fire was always particularly great. Therefore Izvolsky did not resist the annexation of Bosnia to Austria; but even previous to that, on a visit to Buchlay, (Sept. 15, 1908,) he frankly informed Aehrenthal that Russia would not fight for Bosnia, thus leaving Aehrenthal's hands free. This was something more than caution.

Sazonoff, on the contrary, reckoned undoubtedly that Russia was already fully recovered and strong enough not to fear a new war. This explains his aggressive tone to China and Persia. In accordance with that idea he conducted himself in the Balkans. In the beginning, Sazonoff was a supporter of the

integrity of the Ottoman Porte. Our [Russian] Consul in Constantinople was N. V. Charikov, a believer in the capacity of the Young Turkish Government to renew the organization of the Turkish Empire. He strove to support and strengthen its tie to Russia. But Feb. 27, 1912, Charikov was led to resign, and that resignation signified a sharp turn in our Balkan policy. In the course of two days, ending the 29th of February, 1912, the Serbo-Bulgarian agreement was signed. It served as a noose to hold together the Balkan combine.

The Balkan Alliance

That alliance, with Sazonoff standing at its cradle, was expected by its Balkan creators to serve as a citadel against Austria, as well as against Turkey. The first act of the alliance was to declare war on Turkey. By the same act of the 29th of February, besides underscoring its purposes of liberation, the alliance put out manifests on the occasion of declaring war. These denominated the war as one of deliverance. But immediately after the victory there began between the powers of deliverance a war over the division of the spoils.

Did Sazonoff wish for war with Turkey? According to the scanty information which the press has it may be said, "No, at that moment he did not wish it." He did not foresee, and could not prevent it. He did not comprehend the fact that the Balkan Governments, with constant rivalry of their dynastic claims and small imperial tendencies, were not ready for a broad imperialistic plan, useful for a Government with an older and sounder culture. Not understanding this, Sazonoff did not foresee the second Balkan war, and was not able to prevent it, though at the last moment he made a useless effort in that direction. The Balkan Ministers did not accept his invitation to a conference at Petrograd and preferred to decide their quarrel with the gun.

Thus Austria and Germany again had against them not a solid Balkan alliance but a divided one, with the separated Balkan States hating one another more bitterly than ever. As a result, one of

these States—precisely that one in which Russia enjoyed special prestige—turned against Russia. The fact is that Russia supported the claim of Rumania to a portion of Bulgarian territory, although she had opposed the entrance of the Rumanian soldiers into Sofia, thus saving Bulgaria from final destruction. The attitude of Russia toward the Rumanian claim produced terrible irritation on the part of Bulgaria. From that time Bulgaria was lost to Russia.

In that way the policy of Sazonoff in the Balkans reached a melancholy fiasco, which is explained, perhaps, by the boldness and breadth of the imperialistic task he had laid upon himself, but also by the fact that his foresight and diplomatic art were not equal to the height of his task.

Austro-Serbian Friction

A conflict began between Serbia and Austria which had remained inevitable ever since the annexation of Macedonia to Serbia. In reference to that conflict Sazonoff held a clearly defined position, which he had determined upon beforehand. Firmness and strength he drew from his belief in English support, and he evidently had for this belief full and sufficient grounds. As a result, the conflict between Austria and the little Balkan Government became an overture to a world catastrophe.

Now the task of Sazonoff as a diplomat was to drag, as far as possible, all neutral Governments into the alliance. England dragged in Japan, Germany pushed Belgium into the arms of the Entente. There was already driven into the Triple Alliance the wedge of events of the preceding years. These events were skillfully employed by English diplomacy, so that the neutrality of Italy might be considered as secured. But it was important that this neutrality be turned into active support. Sazonoff had little to do with that remote movement of events which has caused Italy, yesterday a firm member of the Triple Alliance, to be found today in our war camp. That change of alliance was bought at the price of a full agreement, by which Italy was guaranteed the lands along Istria, Croatia,

and part of the Dalmatian coast on the Adriatic Sea; that is to say, lands almost to a man inhabited by Serbs or families of Serbian Slovenians. These lands Serbia had for a long time looked upon as her own natural possessions, and in their assimilation had seen her own national task.

In the concession of those lands to Italy Serbia saw an outrage to her nationality and a harsh transgression of those principles in the name of which she went to war. Therefore to break the opposition of the Serbs to the agreement with Italy was not easy, but here Sazonoff manifested a great diplomatic skill, which was crowned with success.

Aside from that, in relation to other Balkan Governments, he made some gross mistakes. For a long time he believed

that he was going to succeed, finally, in dragging Bulgaria into the contest on the Entente side. For the sake of that unfeasible purpose he thrust aside Greece, which (not only under Venizelos, but also under Gounaris) was ready to enter into an agreement on certain conditions. Sazonoff would not agree to the conditions Gounaris proposed—a guarantee of the inviolability of Greece's territory—for fear of offending Bulgaria. In the end, while not obtaining Greece, he lost Bulgaria.

Special interest is presented by Sazonoff's rôle in the development of our relations with the neighboring allies. At the present moment, however, we are deprived of the possibility of giving the necessary valuation of that side of his activity.

Hardships of Campaigning Near Kut-el-Amara

Lieutenant Ralph E. Smith, formerly a Canadian Baptist missionary, is now in the Indian army that is fighting the Turks in Mesopotamia. The following letter from him, written last Summer near Kut-el-Amara, gives some idea of the suffering endured by the British soldiers in the Euphrates Valley:

I am right up at the front in sight of Kut, within sound of the guns and sight of the aeroplanes. I have often roughed it before, but have never been through anything like the present conditions. I heard many fellows in Rawalpindi and Sialkot who had been up here talk about the conditions in extravagant language and say that it had taken so many years off their lives, &c., and I thought they must be exaggerating. But they were not. You cannot exaggerate in describing things here. Every day since I came a tempestuous gale has blown out of the north. They call it the shamal, and it carries with it blinding clouds of dust. The third day I was here it began at 7:30 A. M. and kept it up till 6 P. M. Often it was impossible to see the tent in front of mine—about ten yards away. My hair turned white and became clogged with gray clay. I picked chunks of clay out of my nose. My hands and face and lips became caked with it. I breathed it at every breath. My ears filled up. My papers, cot, table, and everything in the room took on a thick layer. Our meals were half sand. The streams of perspiration made channels in the dust upon my face and no fireman coming out of a bad fire at home could have looked worse than I did when the day was over. The temperature was 113, and my tent is not a big double fly like the ones we use in India, but a little pent roofed one, and there was no escape. Yesterday's official report gave the average temperature at 2 P. M. for the week at 113.9, and the maximum at 117 degrees in the observation tent. Fortunately the nights are clear and cool, and in this respect much better than India. Of course I intend to stick at it till my duty is done. But when the time comes to go home I think I shall be gladder than I have ever been before.

The "Scrap of Paper" Episode

Official Narrative of British Ambassador to Germany Viewed
by a Mid-Westerner in the Light of Events

By Richard Dobson

THE Franco-Prussian war was a blessing to France and a curse to Prussia. France became a republic, paid her debt of honor, and entered upon a course of prosperity that far excelled her former condition during the Napoleonic glory, wars, and empires. Prussia became a confederated Germany—an empire in the hands of Bismarck. But the success of Prussia in the war of 1870-71 has been a curse to Germany herself and also to Europe and to the whole world.

With the German Empire there was also born a monster of ambition for conquest which today astounds and confounds the student of history. The magnitude of the plot to capture the whole world, its business, its commerce, its wealth, and its resources, and to convert them all to the special benefit of the super-German and the super-German Empire, exceeds the wildest dream of an Alexander, a Caesar, or a Napoleon.

In inducing Great Britain to exchange Zanzibar for Heligoland, Germany showed her hand at an early date, but it was with a glib assurance that this transaction was without any kind of naval or military significance; that it was a domestic arrangement pure and simple. Yet, when Kaiser Wilhelm took possession of Heligoland, he told the people that their island had been chosen as Germany's bulwark in the sea, a central point for Germany's ships of war; and up to the commencement of the war Germany had spent \$120,000,000 in fortifying Heligoland.

Germany talked and wrote honeyed words to neighbor nations, while at the same time she was maturing a plot for world power. She developed a system of spying and deceit that has never been equaled in the history of the world, in order that she might, under cover, create

an invincible army and a navy to rival Britain's, and yet with a smiling, deceitful front say to the world, "Peace, peace! Let us have peace!"

First Signs of Trouble

In 1904 the British Government began to be alarmed at the difference between Germany's words and Germany's deeds. English representatives went to King Edward VII. and asked him to go and see the Kaiser, as Germany's activities were causing alarm throughout the United Kingdom. Edward of England went forthwith to interview the Kaiser, his own blood nephew. What King Edward said to his headstrong and haughty nephew is not known, but there was an immediate lull in the German activities. Perhaps if King Edward had lived the great war might have been averted, for no one in all Europe had so much influence over the Kaiser as did the Kaiser's beloved uncle.

Later the Kaiser, with his military and naval commanders, visited his uncle in London. It was there that he suggested to Andrew Carnegie, "that he (Andrew Carnegie) should build the World's Palace of Peace at The Hague." The Kaiser also remarked at the time "that in case of a war there should be no asphyxiating gas used and that there should be no submarine attacks on merchant or passenger ships." In the light of present-day history these suggestions seem like rather sinister jokes.

Great events were now happening, leading up to the Agadir crisis in 1911, which was quickly settled through the mediation of King Edward. In 1912 English politicians again became alarmed at the naval and military activities of Germany, and Lord Haldane was sent over there to investigate. His report to the British Government was in sub-

stance about as follows: "I have been to Germany, seen the Kaiser, and found everything all right and lovely." The Kaiser had pulled the wool over Lord Haldane's eyes, and the British Government and Englishmen in general were again lulled to sleep over a slumbering volcano.

In 1913 England was again deceived by Germany to such an extent that all over England there was much talk of peace delegates from Germany going to each country that had become especially interested in the peace movement in Europe, and the German delegates actually went to promote international peace in those countries. Did Germany know, or didn't she, that she was playing false? With one hand she was holding up the lure of peace to those she was about to attack, while with the other she was secretly rushing the warlike preparations and equipments which, a year later, astounded the world and involved Europe and Asia and the furthest islands of the sea in a colossal war.

In 1914, less than six months before the war, England was entertaining as her honored guests those very Germans who were taking part in the completing of Germany's war operations, and who were also taking stock of England's arrangement and management of things in general. Spies!

And yet we have it stated now by many German authorities that England started the war. Perfidious Albion's treachery brought on all these horrors and is responsible for the awful holocaust of human lives. These statements have been made by Germany in face of the official correspondence printed below, which took place after war had been declared between Germany, Russia, and France.

On Aug. 2, 1914, the German Army started on its march toward Paris by way of the little Duchy of Luxemburg and the little Kingdom of Belgium, both of which had been granted neutrality by all the great powers of Europe. Six days after that fateful Sunday, when the German Army had started on its mission of conquest, the following official report was made by the recent British Amba-

sador in Berlin to Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Secretary for Great Britain:

Text of Sir Edward Goschen's Famous Report

"Sir William Edward Goschen, British Ambassador in Berlin, to Sir Edward Grey, London, Aug. 8, 1914.

"Sir: In accordance with the instructions contained in your telegram of the 4th inst., I called upon the Secretary of State that afternoon and inquired in the name of his Majesty's Government whether the Imperial Government would refrain from violating Belgian neutrality.

"Herr von Jagow at once replied that he was sorry to say that his answer must be no, as, in consequence of the German troops having crossed the frontier that morning, Belgium's neutrality had already been violated. Herr von Jagow again went into the reasons why the Imperial Government had been obliged to take this step, namely, that they had to advance into France by the quickest and easiest way, so as to be able to get well ahead with their operations and endeavor to strike some decisive blow as early as possible.

"It was a matter of life and death for them, as, if they had gone by the more southern route, they could not have hoped, in view of the paucity of roads and strength of the fortresses, to have gone through without formidable opposition, entailing great loss of time. This loss of time would have meant time gained by the Russians for bringing up their troops to the German frontier. Rapidity of action was the great German asset, while that of Russia was an inexhaustible supply of troops.

"I pointed out to Herr von Jagow that this 'fait accompli' of the violation of the Belgian frontier rendered, as he would readily understand, the situation exceedingly grave, and I asked whether there was not still time to draw back and avoid possible consequences which both he and I would deplore.

"He replied that, for reasons he had given me, it was now impossible for them to draw back. During the afternoon I received your further telegram of the

same date, and, in compliance with the instructions therein contained, I again proceeded to the Imperial Foreign Office and informed the Secretary of State that unless the Imperial Government could give the assurance by 12 o'clock that night that they would proceed no further with their violation of the Belgian frontier and stop their advance, I had been instructed to demand my passports and inform the Imperial Government that his Majesty's Government would have to take all steps in their power to uphold the neutrality of Belgium and the observance of a treaty to which Germany was as much a party as themselves.

"Herr von Jagow replied that, to his regret, he could give no other answer then than that which he had given me earlier in the day, namely, that the safety of the empire rendered it absolutely necessary that the imperial troops should advance through Belgium.

"I gave his Excellency a written summary of your telegram, and, pointing out that you had mentioned 12 o'clock as the time when his Majesty's Government would expect an answer, asked him whether, in view of the terrible consequences which would necessarily ensue, it were not possible, even at the last moment, that their answer should be reconsidered. He replied that if the time given were even twenty-four hours or more, his answer must be the same. I said that in that case I should have to demand my passports.

"This interview took place at about 7 o'clock. In a short conversation which ensued, Herr von Jagow expressed his poignant regret at the crumbling of his entire policy and that of the Chancellor, which had been to make friends with Great Britain, and then through Great Britain to get closer to France.

"I said that this sudden end to my work in Berlin was to me also a matter of deep regret and disappointment, but he must understand that, under the circumstances and in view of our engagements, his Majesty's Government could not possibly have acted otherwise than they had done.

"I then said that I should like to go and see the Chancellor, as it might be,

perhaps, the last time I should have an opportunity of seeing him. He begged me to do so. I found the Chancellor very agitated. His Excellency at once began a harangue, which lasted for about twenty minutes. He said that the step taken by his Majesty's Government was terrible to a degree; just for a word, 'Neutrality'—a word which in war time had so often been disregarded; just for a scrap of paper—Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation who desired nothing better than to be friends with her.

"All his efforts in that direction had been rendered useless by this last terrible step, and the policy, to which, as I knew, he had devoted himself since his accession to office, had tumbled down like a house of cards. What we had done was unthinkable; it was like striking a man from behind while he was fighting for his life against two assailants. He held Great Britain responsible for all the terrible events that might happen.

"I protested strongly against that statement, and said that in the same way as he and Herr von Jagow wished me to understand that for strategical reasons it was a matter of life and death to Germany to advance through Belgium and violate the latter's neutrality, so I would wish him to understand that it was, so to speak, a matter of 'life and death' for the honor of Great Britain that she should keep her solemn engagements to defend Belgium's neutrality if attacked.

"That solemn compact simply had to be kept, or what confidence could any one have in engagements given by Great Britain in the future? The Chancellor said, 'But at what price will that compact have been kept? Has the British Government thought of that?'

"I hinted to his Excellency as plainly as I could that fear of consequences could hardly be regarded as an excuse for breaking solemn engagements, but his Excellency was so excited, so evidently overcome by the news of our action, and so little disposed to hear reason that I refrained from adding fuel to the flame by further argument.

"As I was leaving he said that the blow of Great Britain joining Germany's enemies was all the greater in that almost up to the last moment he and his Government had been working with us and supporting our efforts to maintain peace between Russia and Austria. I said that this was part of the tragedy which saw the two nations fall apart, just at the moment when the relations between them had been more friendly and cordial than they had been for years. Unfortunately, notwithstanding our efforts to maintain peace between Russia and Austria, the war had spread and had brought us face to face with a situation which, if we held to our engagements, we could not possibly avoid, and which unfortunately entailed our separation from our late fellow-workers. He would readily understand that no one regretted this more than I.

"After this somewhat painful interview I returned to the embassy and drew up a telegraphic report of what had passed. This telegram was handed in at the Central Telegraph Office a little before 9 P. M. It was accepted by that office, but apparently never dispatched.

Interview With Zimmermann

"At about 9:30 P. M. Herr von Zimmermann, the Under Secretary of State, came to see me. After expressing his deep regret that the very friendly official and personal relations between us were about to cease, he asked me casually whether a demand for passports was equivalent to a declaration of war.

"I said that such an authority on international law as he was known to be must know as well or better than I what was usual in such cases. I added that there were many cases where diplomatic relations had been broken off and, nevertheless, war had not ensued, but that in this case he would have seen that from my instructions, of which I had given Herr von Jagow a written summary, that his Majesty's Government expected an answer to a definite question by 12 o'clock that night, and that in default of a satisfactory answer they would be forced to take such steps as their engagements required. Herr Zimmermann said that

that was, in fact, a declaration of war, as the Imperial Government could not possibly give the assurance required, either that night or any other night.

"In the meantime, after Herr Zimmermann left me, a flying sheet of the Berliner Tageblatt was circulated stating that Great Britain had declared war against Germany. The immediate result of this news was the assemblage of an exceedingly excited and unruly mob before his Majesty's embassy. The small force of police which had been sent to guard the embassy was soon overpowered, and the attitude of the mob became threatening.

"We took no notice of this demonstration as long as it was confined to noise, but when the crash of glass and the landing of cobblestones in the drawing room, where we were all sitting, warned us that the situation was getting unpleasant, I telephoned to the Foreign Office an account of what was happening. Herr von Jagow at once informed the Chief of Police, and an adequate force of mounted police, sent with great promptness, very soon cleared the street.

"From that moment on we were well guarded and no more direct unpleasantness ensued. After order had been restored, Herr von Jagow came to see me, and expressed his most heartfelt regrets at what had occurred. He said that the behavior of his countrymen had made him feel more ashamed than he had words to express. It was an indelible stain on the reputation of Berlin.

"He said that the flying sheet circulated in the streets had not been authorized by the Government; in fact, the Chancellor had asked him by telephone whether he thought that such a statement should be issued, and he had replied, 'Certainly not until the morning.' It was in consequence of his decision to that effect that only a small force of police had been sent to the neighborhood of the embassy, as he had thought that the presence of a large force would inevitably attract attention and perhaps lead to disturbances.

"It was the pestilential Tageblatt which had somehow got hold of the news

that had upset his calculations. He had heard rumors that the mob had been excited to violence by gestures made and missiles thrown from the embassy, but he felt sure that was not true, and, even if it was, it was no excuse for the disgraceful scenes which had taken place. (I was able soon to assure him that the report had no foundation whatever.)

Message From the Kaiser

"He feared that I would take home with me a sorry impression of Berlin manners in moments of excitement. In fact, no apology could have been more full and complete. On the following morning, the 5th of August, the Emperor sent one of his Majesty's Aides de Camp to me with the following message:

"The Emperor has charged me to express to your Excellency his regret for the occurrences of last night, but to tell you at the same time that you will gather from these occurrences an idea of the feeling of his people respecting the action of Great Britain in joining with other nations against her old allies of Waterloo. His Majesty also begs that you will tell the King that he has been proud of the titles of British Field Marshal and British Admiral, but that in consequence of what has occurred he must now at once divest himself of those titles."

"I would add that the above message lost none of its acerbity by the manner of its delivery. On the other hand, I should like to state that I received all through this trying ordeal nothing but courtesy at the hands of Herr von Jagow and the officials of the Imperial Foreign Office.

"The night passed quietly without any incident. In the morning a strong force of police was posted along the usual route to the Lehrter Station, while the embassy was smuggled away in taxicabs to the station by side streets. We there suffered no molestation whatever, and avoided the treatment meted out by the crowd to my Russian and French colleagues. Count Wedel met us at the station to say good-bye on behalf of Herr von Jagow and to see that all the arrangements ordered for our comfort

had been properly carried out. A retired Colonel of the Guards accompanied the train to the Dutch frontier and was exceedingly kind in his efforts to prevent the great crowds which thronged the platforms at every station where we stopped from insulting us; but beyond the yelling of patriotic songs and a few jeers and insulting gestures we had really nothing to complain of during our tedious journey to the Dutch frontier.

"Before closing this long account of our last days in Berlin I should like to place on record and bring to your notice the quite admirable behavior of my staff under the most trying circumstances possible, * * * [He gives further praise to his staff and proceeds:] I should also like to mention the great assistance rendered to us all by my American colleague, Mr. Gerard, and his staff, [American Ambassador in Berlin,] undeterred by the hooting and hissing with which he was often greeted by the mob on entering and leaving the embassy; his Excellency came repeatedly to see me to ask how he could help us and to make arrangements for the safety of stranded British subjects. He extricated many of these from extremely difficult situations at some personal risk to himself, and his calmness and savoir faire and his firmness in dealing with the imperial authorities gave full assurance that the protection of British subjects and interests could not have been left in more efficient and able hands. I have, &c.,

"W. E. GOSCHEN."

Ultimatum to Belgium

Sir Edward Grey, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, before the House of Commons on Aug. 3, 1914, said:

"I want to give the House some information which I have received and which was not in my possession when I made my statement this afternoon. It is information I have received from the Belgian Legation in London, and is to the following effect:

"Germany sent yesterday evening at 7 o'clock a note proposing to Belgium friendly neutrality, covering free passage on Belgian territory and promising maintenance of independence of the

kingdom and possession at the conclusion of peace and threatening in case of refusal to treat Belgium as an enemy. A time limit of twelve hours was fixed for the reply.

"The Belgians have answered that an attack on their neutrality would be a flagrant violation of the rights of nations, and that to accept the German proposal would be to sacrifice the honor of a nation. Conscious of its duty, Belgium is firmly resolved to repel aggression by all possible means.

"Of course, I can only say that the Government is prepared to take into grave consideration the information which it has received. I make no further comment upon it."

A bully is a bully, whether it be a nation or an individual. Germany played the part of a bully when she threatened destruction to little Belgium unless Belgium obeyed her behests. A bully is detestable under any conditions. A little over two years ago, with the best equipped, best disciplined, best munitioned, and mightiest army the world had ever seen, Germany started out—for

what? For the conquest of Europe! And what has she done? Whipped a few of the little fellows, that is all.

She devastated and cleaned out little Belgium, a part of Poland, all of Serbia, and is now undertaking to scourge Rumania. But what of the big fellows? She has made little impression on Russia, simply aroused the British lion, and ruffled the feathers of the French eagle.

If Germany had not been a bully, with five millions of the best trained and equipped soldiers in the world at her command, Europe would now be at her feet. But she was only a bully, and she has spent her force and sacrificed the very flower of German manhood—for what? For a wicked ambition to foist Prussian feudal militarism on all Europe, if not on the whole earth.

Germany's methods of warfare have been of such a ruthless, barbaric, inhuman character all through the last two years that she has justly received the detestation of the civilized world. These are some of the reasons why the Entente Allies should and will win.

Was the War Forced Upon Germany?

A Terse French Reply

When the German Chancellor's address of Nov. 9 was made public it called forth this pithy reply in the form of a leading article in *Le Temps* of Paris.

WITH all doors closed, having dismissed the Reichstag, Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg has just reproduced for the ninth or tenth time his well-known brief on the responsibility for the war. Each edition is revised and considerably augmented, but the main text does not change—and it is this which is most faulty.

The wretched chicanery upon which most of the sophistry of the section chiefs of Wilhelmstrasse is expended, and which they have not even dared to carry before the Reichstag in open session, has for its object to demonstrate that Germany was the one attacked, and that it was the enemies of Germany who long meditated against her a policy of

aggression and conquest. Journalism has its duties, which oblige it to comment upon the facts of the day. It will be understood, however, that only with repugnance can one pause to discuss once more this monument of impudence and untruth.

The central argument of the Chancellor is the Russian mobilization. He would have had Russia refrain from mobilizing, in spite of the Austrian mobilization, in spite of the declaration of war against Serbia, in spite of the military preparations of Germany indicated by all the Consuls from July 26 onward. He would have wished that the occupation of Belgrade should not be considered an act of war, but a simple guarantee. This

would have meant that, England and France remaining neutral, the conflict would have been "localized," that is to say, it would have allowed Germany to attain its eastern objective at once, and to turn then against its western objective. Thus, by the force of circumstances, the confession is included in the public prosecutor's own address to the court. Let us consider once more the facts which confirm the confession:

1. *Premeditation of the War.* If one does not wish to invoke the innumerable publications through which, in the last twenty-five years, Germany has affirmed her right to extend her boundaries to the east and to the west, one can at least cite two official documents. The first is the speech of Signor Giolitti [former Italian Premier]—a witness not likely to be suspected of anti-Germanism—affirming that as far back as 1913 Germany and Austria solicited the co-operation of Italy in an aggression against Serbia. The second is the conversation of November, 1913, held by the King of the Belgians, the German Emperor, and General von Moltke: "This time we must finish it up. Your Majesty cannot doubt the irresistible enthusiasm that will carry away the whole German Nation in a war against France." That conversation has never been authoritatively denied, and cannot be, any more than the speech of Signor Giolitti.

2. *Preparation for the War.* From 1883 to 1913 the war expenditures increased in France 70 per cent., in Russia 114 per cent., in Germany 229 per cent. From 1902 to 1913 France spent for armament \$196,000,000, Germany \$440,000,000. In 1905 France reduced the term of service in the active army. In 1907 she reduced the periods of instruction in the reserve force. In 1911, 1912, 1913, Germany passed three military laws which could not be explained, in view of their cost, except as a deliberate and officially sanctioned determination to make war. In 1914 Germany had 150 divisions (3,000,000 men) ready to march; England had six divisions, (120,000 men.) In 1914 France had 104 pieces of heavy rapid-fire artillery; Germany had 3,500. Since 1905 Russia had been painfully repairing the

ruins left by the Russo-Japanese war. She had neither enough rifles nor enough cannons, nor yet enough railways; Germany had carried her military power in all these respects to the highest point. This comparison requires no comment.

3. *The Attitude of Russia.* When the war broke out, Austria, the agent of Germany, had complete satisfaction from Serbia on all the points inscribed in her ultimatum. The cause of the war had then disappeared. But Austria, having mobilized on July 29, demanded to be allowed besides to occupy Belgrade and Northern Serbia. In the ensuing days Germany refused all offers of conference or of direct negotiations of any kind. On July 29, at 8 o'clock in the evening, the Czar proposed to Emperor William that the question be submitted to arbitration at The Hague Tribunal. William II. did not reply. And it was only on the 30th of July, in the presence of this silence and of the Austrian mobilization, that Russia mobilized the four regions of Kazan, Kieff, Moscow, and Odessa.

4. *Attitude of France and England.* Up to the last minute France kept her protecting troops five miles from the frontier in order to avoid a clash. This measure of prudence and moderation allowed Germany to violate French territory in the morning of Aug. 2—before any declaration of war—in the region of Cirey, Longwy, and Delle. As for England, she did not decide for war until the day, Aug. 4, when the violation of Belgian territory by German troops was consummated. On July 31 she was still reminding France that no engagement bound the two countries together. On Aug. 2, after the entrance of the German vanguard upon French territory, she was still limiting her promise to the protection of our coasts.

5. *Declaration of War.* All the declarations of war came from Berlin and Vienna—from Vienna against Serbia on July 28, from Berlin against Russia on Aug. 1, from Berlin against France on Aug. 3, from Berlin against Belgium on Aug. 4. England's declaration of war against Germany appeared only in the evening of the 4th of August. The declaration of war against France was so im-

possible to justify that it could only be based—in the official note presented by Herr von Schoen—upon a lying invention that has since been recognized as false by the German military authorities themselves, (the throwing of bombs on Nuremberg by French aviators.) It has taken Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg twenty-eight months to find other pretexts, which are worth no more than the old ones. Here again the texts are decisive.

Our reply is shorter than the Chancellor's speech—and for cause. The debate on the responsibility for the war is so completely settled that Dr. Hollweg no longer dares broach it even before his

own Reichstag. To stiffen his explanation he stated that he had never intended to annex Belgium. Doubtless this means that he was reserving for it the sort of autonomy offered to Poland. The Belgians had satisfied themselves long ago as to the meaning of the oft-repeated words, "guarantees on the east and on the west." France and her allies are no less clear regarding the origin of the drama, and the saying of Jaurès [French Socialist leader] on the day of his death sums up their conviction, which is also that of the neutrals: "If we were in the place of the French Government, I do not see how we could do more to avoid war."

Who Began the War?

THE ever-recurring question of who mobilized first in the European war arose again when the German Chancellor said in a recent speech in the Reichstag: "Only after general mobilization had taken place in Russia did Austria-Hungary on the morning of July 31, 1914, also proceed with general mobilization."

H. T. Weeks of London replies as follows:

"Notice that he says 'morning' of July 31. The Russian Ambassador in Vienna sent on July 28 the following telegram:

Telegram: No. 47. Vienna, July 28, 1914.

"The decree of *general mobilization* has been signed."—Schébéko. (Russian Ambassador in Vienna.)

(Orange Book: No. 47.)

"This is confirmed by a report from M. Dumaine, French Ambassador in Vienna, to M. Viviani:

(Yellow Book: No. 115.)

Vienna, July 31, 1914.

"*General mobilization* affecting all men from nineteen to forty-two years of age was decreed at an *early hour* this morning by the Austro-Hungarian Government.

"This is also confirmed by the English Ambassador's report that the Austrian *general mobilization* took place about 1 o'clock A. M. on the morning of July 31.

"The Russian *general mobilization* was ordered at the earliest toward mid-day on July 31, *after* the Austrian mobiliza-

tion, and was the necessary sequence of that event, as we see from the report of M. Paléologue, French Ambassador in St. Petersburg, to M. Viviani:

(Yellow Book: No. 118.)

St. Petersburg, July 31, 1914.

"In view of the *general mobilization* of Austria and of the measures of mobilization taken secretly but continuously by Germany during the last six days, *general mobilization* of the Russian Army has been ordered.

"The German Chancellor is incorrect as to his facts. Again, he is reported to have said: 'But to the news of the Russian mobilization we at first replied only with the announcement of a state of affairs threatening danger of war which did not yet signify mobilization.' It is true that on the 31st, the same eventful day—the exact hour is not known—the 'threatening danger of war' was proclaimed in Germany. In the evening, about 7 o'clock, the ultimatum to *France* was delivered in Paris, and about midnight the ultimatum to Russia was delivered in Petrograd. Note that Germany, not Austria, delivers an ultimatum to *France* on account of Russia's mobilization against Austria's mobilization. Bethmann Hollweg also attempts to prove that Russia's mobilization was aggressive against Germany, and not defensive against Austria; by quoting a general instruction of the Russian Government issued in 1912: 'It is ordered

that the announcement of mobilization is at the same time an announcement of war against Germany.'

"He ignores that the Czar, in his telegram of July 31, 1914, to the Emperor William, while announcing that the discontinuance of military preparations 'made necessary by the Austrian mobilization was "technically impossible," gave his solemn word that no provocative action would be taken so long as negotiations continued. The Emperor William

again demanded unconditional discontinuance of the military preparations of Russia, whereupon the Czar submitted that *he*, the German Emperor, might take the same *measures without war necessarily* following. The Emperor William, however, mobilized and declared war. In the face of these facts and of many others too numerous to unfold in this letter I am afraid the Chancellor's boast, "We need fear no tribunal," would look very foolish.'

"Before Verdun"

By FRANCES FENWICK WILLIAMS

No prayer can help, no agony atone,
As I came into life I go—alone!

Another man is lying by my side,
Another, caught in death's fast-brimming tide.

Mine was the hand that struck his life away,
And his the hand that laid me low today.

Yet now, as nearer draws the dreadful end,
He seems to me a brother and a friend.

What is he thinking as his life ebbs fast?
(How lonely each poor soul is at the last!)

If I could hear him speak before he dies
I should not feel so desolate—but he lies,

Silent and spent. His lips grow slowly white—
I hate to look upon the piteous sight!

I have some water here. If I could crawl
Close to his death-place he should have it all.

Ah, I have reached him—but he shrinks. Poor friend!
My wish is but to share your bitter end.

He smiles—he drinks! Ah, me, how eagerly
He laps the water and leans back to die.

Oh, while the death-guns shriek, the madmen fight,
Speak to me, brother! Darker grows the night,

And I am friendless, and my life ebbs fast—
(How lonely each poor soul is at the last!)

He smiles. He speaks. Oh, brother, louder pray!
I'm growing deaf. (That means death's near, they say.)

"No war where we are going?" Friend, your hand!
Together let us seek that longed-for land.

"No war!"—how white he is, how cold a thing!
But his dead face has robbed death of her sting.

The Modern Machine Gun

Captain Henri Carre of the French Army has contributed to *La Revue des Deux Mondes* an unusually well-informed article on machine guns, the essential portions of which are here translated.

A MITRAILLEUSE is defined as a firearm with a single barrel, firing with great velocity the infantry cartridge and acting automatically, that is to say, requiring no other energy than a part of that produced by the explosion of the gases of the powder at each shot fired.

Applied to our present weapon, the word *mitrailleuse* is incorrect; its true name should be machine gun, as in English. The word "*mitraille*," ("grapeshot,") which is very old, was applied to the pieces of scrap iron with which cannon were formerly charged. Besides irregularity in firing, it caused considerable wastage to the bronze guns. To correct this, the suggestion was made, as soon as guns mounted on movable carriages appeared in the fourteenth century, that several light guns might be fastened together parallel to each other, and the name *traits à feu* was given to them. These were *ribaudequins*, or "organs," so called because their appearance recalled that of a group of organ pipes; but, because of the difficulty of firing them all at once, their effectiveness remained very moderate. Also in the sixteenth century, Leonardo da Vinci, the universal genius who touched every science and every art, set himself to invent a gun firing grapeshot, and several of his designs have come down to us.

About the same epoch "grapeshot cases" made their appearance; in these a cylindrical envelope inclosed broken pieces of metal, which in firing only opened after leaving the mouth of the gun; thus the deterioration of the barrel was prevented. Later, Jean-Baptiste de Gribeauval, Inspector General of Artillery, perfected the case shot by substituting regular round bullets for the pieces of scrap iron.

But the idea of a weapon with several barrels was only taken up again two centuries later, about 1830, in Belgium,

where a former officer of the Grand Army, Falschamp, thought out a *mitrailleuse*, composed of barrels assembled parallel to each other in a prismatic bundle, and loaded at the breech with cartridges fired by percussion caps; his most perfect model, completed in 1857, had the appearance and the weight of a cannon, and was made up of fifty barrels about the calibre of rifle barrels, and firing a hundred bullets a minute, with a range of 2,000 meters, (1¼ miles,) a fairly long range for that period.

The Old Gatling Gun

In America, the war of the secession brought about the creation of new *mitrailleuses*; the best known was the Gatling, with six or ten barrels. A crank worked by hand provided the motive power. The rapidity of firing was theoretically 300 a minute, but the results were mediocre.

In France, during the closing years of the Empire, appeared the Reffye system of *mitrailleuse*, called the "bullet cannon." It consisted of a bundle of twenty-five barrels loaded by means of a loading block carrying twenty-five cartridges; these were struck by twenty-five gunhammers released by the operation of a hand lever. The rapidity of fire reached 150 a minute, and the bullets carried one and a half miles. Hauled and served by the artillery, these engines had as their purpose to carry grapeshot fire to a distance. In spite of the hopes based on them, and of their impressive name, these *mitrailleuses* caused nothing but disillusionments.

At the same epoch, Bavaria adopted an analogous weapon, known as the *Feld mitrailleuse*, a single battery of which, consisting of four guns, was used, without brilliant results, in the war of 1870.

None of these weapons was automatic, since they were driven by hand power.

A few years later the English and the Russians adopted the Gatling gun in

one of its forms; but it was found to be too heavy, and there arose a demand for a lighter weapon, not harnessed at the moment of fighting, suited to accompany the infantry everywhere, and in using which the work of the gunners should be reduced to a minimum. The Maxim was the first to realize these conditions; the automatic machine gun was created. The first type was established by Hiram Maxim after an outlay of seven millions in studies, contracts, and experiments. A practical model was realized as early as 1882, and immediately adopted by the English Army, which tried it in its frontier wars.

Guns Now Used by France

In France, the principal models actually in use are: The Saint-Etienne or machine gun of 1907, the Puteaux, the 1914 Hotchkiss. Let us begin with a brief account of the characteristics of the Saint-Etienne.

The principal driving power is obtained by drawing gas from the barrel through a hole 4.8 millimeters in diameter, this gas entering a cylinder called the gas chamber and later escaping into the air by appropriate apertures; the piston at the end of its movement is driven back by a spring. It is a to-and-fro movement which automatically brings about the complete action of the weapon, namely, the opening and closing of the breech, with extraction and ejection of the cartridge case; the percussion and release of the cartridge; the feeding of the gun. The weapon can be fired at any rate, either at rapid fire or at a rate regulated by a special apparatus which permits all rates, from ten to about 500 a minute. The feeding is carried on by stiff strips of nickel steel carrying twenty-five cartridges.

This machine gun does not, like its German rival, carry a water jacket; consequently the barrel gets exceedingly hot when fired at a high rate; in an intensive fire it may reach the temperature of dull red, about 800 degrees Centigrade; but this heating does not in the least injure the weapon's ballistic qualities; the barrel, thanks to its being made of special manganese steel, does not lose its shape, or, rather, recovers it as it cools,

and returns to its condition before firing. The machine gun, fixed to a tripod carriage, can be fired in two positions—normal or lying down. In the former the gunner seats himself on a saddle carried by the pole; in the second he lies on his back beside his gun.

The problem of transporting the machine gun is most important. In order to make it an infantry weapon, fit to accompany the infantry everywhere, efforts have been made to find the best possible solution for it. Along roads, on long marches, the machine guns are carried on pack saddles or on carts. Under fire, or under threat of fire, the pack saddles or carts are abandoned, and the parts of the machine gun are carried on men's backs or by hand. The guns have to be assembled in order to be ready for firing.

Seven Shots a Second

The ultra-rapid rate of firing is a characteristic of the machine gun. Following the models, the theoretical rate varied from 400 to 700 shots a minute. But these enormously rapid rates apply only to the actual firing of a cartridge strip which has been put in position; we must deduct the time for the change from one strip to another.

In reality, when a machine gun fires 400 shots within a minute this would seem to be a maximum; it is, besides, a prestissimo movement, which we may try to represent to ourselves by a rate of seven shots a second. From the tactical point of view there is nothing to be gained by increasing this rate, and it is rarely justifiable to fire longer than a minute without stopping at the same target.

Theoretically, a weapon on a fixed support should send all its shots along the same path; in reality, as a consequence of the vibrations of the gun and the play of the parts of the aiming machinery, it is not so; each of the bullets describes its own curve, and their ensemble makes a sheaf, closely packed but very narrow, which may be compared to the stream of water sent out by the nozzle of a hose. In the mowing fire, which is the normal fire, a certain number of sheaves are juxtaposed along the whole front of the objective. From this it re-

sults that at the point where they strike the earth the density of the bullets is terrible and an extraordinary effect of destruction of the unsheltered men is obtained.

The effect of machine-gun fire on armor plate or obstacles is the same as that of gun fire. On barbed-wire entanglements a serious but very localized destruction is obtained by firing several thousand cartridges close together.

To sum up, the machine gun is a light weapon, half portable, extremely deadly, demanding only a small number of men to work it; therefore it allows an economy of men on a given front, and this is one of the reasons for the extraordinary favor it enjoys in the German Army.

In position, the machine gun is inconspicuous and easy to hide completely; on the other hand, it betrays itself by the noise it makes when in action; even the firing of heavy volleys can never be confused with the cadenced fire, very rapid and regular, of the terrible "tac-tac." Even more, the dry crackle, brutal, angry, and headlong, of the rapidly fired machine gun sometimes succeeds in dominating the noise of heavy shells. If you compare the calibre of a machine gun of eight millimeters with that of a simple mortar of medium weight, say, 105 millimeters, (4 inches,) the fact appears surprising, but it has often been verified.

Despite its mechanism, the present machine gun is pretty robust. Certain delicate parts may be broken in firing, but, since substitute pieces are used, every repair can be made by skillful men within a few minutes; it is a simple question of training the men.

The German Machine Gun

Let us now study the German machine gun. This gun, following one of Maxim's models, is distinguished by the cooling system, the method of transport, and the rate of fire.

The barrel of the weapon is surrounded along its whole length by a metal sleeve filled with water to cool it; at the end of 600 or 800 shots the liquid begins to boil, causing an escape of steam which interferes with the firing and reveals the presence of the gun, unless directed toward the earth or into a vessel of water.

During the mobile period of the war, and by one of the ruses they are so fond of, the Germans sometimes made use of this peculiarity to make us think imaginary machine guns were at certain points; they generated steam by burning damp grass.

The Maxim uses a loading ribbon of pliable cloth carrying 250 cartridges. The rapidity of fire is unrivaled, reaching nearly 400 shots a minute.

The method of transport is different from ours, as it does not use pack animals; all the material is carted; the machine gun, already mounted, rests on a foot which slides into a socket in a caisson or in an automobile. In the German Mercedes automobiles, manufactured in time of peace, no one could explain the purpose of certain nuts fixed in the chassis; it has since been recognized that they were constructed so that the cars might be fitted with Maxim guns.

The machine-gun companies consist of mounted officers and under officers; further, the caissons drawn by horses can advance at a trot, while carrying the gunners and temporarily leaving behind the extra men. This makes clear that one of the aims of the German command has been to bring the machine guns very rapidly into action, and when necessary to make them go ahead of their infantry.

Stories of Chained Gunners

In the fire zone, the machine gun, already mounted on its carriage, is transported either by one man, on his shoulders, (the weight being 55 kilograms,) or by two men carrying it on a stretcher, or by three dragging it along the ground, the curved front of the carriage, which makes it look like a huge insect, lending itself to this way of advancing even over rough ground. Some machine guns are supplied with chains to aid in carrying by hand; somewhat hasty conclusions as to the gunner chained to his gun have been drawn from them; the reality is simpler and less dramatic.

Nevertheless, there have been several examples of this brutal custom. In the Wood of Fricourt, carried by the English during the combined offensive, a German machine gunner was found fastened to his gun by the foot and by the waist,

dying of exhaustion and thirst, having been completely without water for three days. And at the bottom of a dugout, in the region of Gommecourt, the Tommies discovered the body of a gunner fixed to his gun by a chain around his wrist.

The Maxim fires only in one position, the low position, at about fifty centimeters (twenty inches) high, in order to obtain a mowing fire close to the ground.

At the mobilization the very numerous units of German machine guns were completely organized, whether in regimental or divisional companies. The teaching of the Balkan wars, which in France had not been sufficiently harvested, had shown that the presence of machine guns in battle was, for infantry, not only a powerful material help but also a considerable moral support. Thus the Germans began the war with thousands of machine guns. This weapon exactly fits their temperament; an automatic weapon responds to their immoderate love of mechanism and to the mechanical training of their soldiers. * * *

German Gunners Past Masters

All these things contribute to give the German machine gunners, picked sol-

diers, a peculiar mentality and pride. They show in battle real bravery, and often extraordinary ferocity. Numbers of them have taken an oath to be killed rather than surrender, and do not hesitate to massacre pitilessly the "kamarades" who try to break their oath.

During the English attack on Mametz, the German machine gunners fought to the last minute; their trench carried, they refused to surrender. On the other hand, these same soldiers showed that they were as ferocious as they are brave by pouring their fire on the wounded who lay on the ground before them.

It has also been noticed that the bravery, the coolness, the daring and skill of the German machine gunners contrasts with the timidity and often the awkwardness of their bomb throwers. The French and English grenadiers show themselves in general very superior to the Teuton bomb throwers, without doubt because the use of the machine gun is especially suitable to machine soldiers, that of hand weapons, on the contrary, appealing to the individual valor of the combatants. But it must be recognized that, as machine gunners, the Germans are past masters in their brutal art.

Bullets That Travel Faster Than Sound

BY CHARLES NORDMANN

[Translated from *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, Paris, for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

EVEN if our senses and instruments were sufficiently perfect exactly to define the direction from which the sound of a cannon shot comes, it often happens that this would not at all give us the direction in which the cannon itself is. It is a question of a phenomenon, very subtle, but of so great importance in war, in which it has led the combatants into errors that entailed the gravest consequences, that my readers will forgive me, in spite of the dryness of the subject, for setting it forth with a certain detail.

It is an astonishing thing that this phenomenon of acoustic illusion has hitherto been almost entirely unknown to

the physicists, and many of the latest treatises on physics and acoustics do not even mention it. On the other hand, it was by no means unknown to the student of ballistics and the specialist in firearms, and it had been discovered and expounded by them almost thirty years ago.

We refer to what we shall call, for simplicity's sake, the false detonation of projectiles. Noted as early as 1888, in the experiments of the French Captains Journée and Sabouret, and the Austrian Mach, they were known to specialists, especially thanks to a series of articles which appeared in the *Revue d'Artillerie*, and the remarkable pamphlet of Captain

Mach, "Smokeless Powder and Tactics." When, on the shooting ranges, one studies firearms (rifles or cannon) firing projectiles of high initial velocity, one often notes discrepancies between the distances measured on the ground and those deduced from the difference between the velocity of light and the velocity of sound. It is noted that these discrepancies correspond to a velocity of sound in air very much greater than 330 meters (1,090 feet) a second, and that, other things being equal, these discrepancies increase with each increase in the initial velocity of the projectile. Especially with rifle bullets of the 1886 model, we have, by experiment, initial velocities of 2,300 feet a second, and, with the shells of certain long naval guns, an initial velocity reaching 4,000 feet a second.

It often happens that, on the rifle ranges, an observer stationed behind the target hears simultaneously the noise of the detonation and the shock of the bullet against the target, when the firer is not very far away—as if the sound traveled as fast as the bullet. To explain the results thus obtained, it would be necessary to admit that sound in air may have velocities exceeding 1,300 to 1,600 feet a second.

The idea that the bullet is able to modify the surrounding air sufficiently for the detonation to be propagated with a velocity very much greater than the normal velocity (1,090 feet a second) would conflict so strongly with all that we know of physics that it cannot be accepted for a moment; and, further, it was immediately ascertained, by establishing suitable conditions, that, in these experiments, the sound of the detonation of departure has not ceased to exist, and continues to be propagated at the classical velocity of 1,090 feet a second. It is heard, though more faintly, a certain time after the very rapid detonation of which we have just spoken, and which has been called the snap (*claquement*) of the projectile.

The departure of bullets or shells with high initial velocity is, therefore, signalized by two successive detonations—the first, very sharp and very dry, (from which comes its name *claquement*), and

which is propagated more rapidly than sound in still air; the other, weaker, which is propagated according to the ordinary laws of acoustics. Whence comes this parallel detonation, which often preponderates in intensity to such a degree that the detonation of departure has seemed to be eclipsed by it? What is the nature of this "snap"? What are its deceptive effects, in the work of scouting and range finding on the battlefield? This is our problem.

It was Mach who exactly explained the nature of this phenomenon, so that the very peculiar sound-bearing waves which produce the "snap" of the projectile are often called Mach waves. A comparison will explain their nature: When a ship advances in calm water its cutwater traces on either side a long, double furrow which is visible for a great distance and is formed by two straight lines diverging from the ship and meeting at its cutwater. Well, the Mach wave is an analogous wave formed in air by the very violent shock of the projectile. In striking against the layers of still air which it meets, the bullet causes a condensation in these layers, a sort of pointed and divergent furrow forming a cone, whose apex is occupied by the point of the projectile, and which is carried along with the velocity of the projectile. When a boat is at some distance to the right or left of an advancing ship, it is lightly rocked at the moment when it is reached by the angular furrow which comes from the ship's bow. In the same way, when the conical wave of condensation, which the high velocity projectile carries along with it, reaches the ear of an observer, the air is struck by a sound, (for a sound wave is only a condensation followed by a rarefaction of the air,) the ear hears the "snap" of the shell, and only a moment later hears the detonation of departure, which was at first wrongly confused with this "snap." Experiment shows further that the shell or bullet produces the "snap" only when its velocity in the air is greater than that of sound. * * *

Many guns, all the mortars, all short guns, many of the shell throwers, all trench guns, throw their projectiles with

a low initial velocity, less than 1,090 feet a second. For all these weapons the "snap" phenomenon does not exist, and only the single detonation of departure is heard. With the long guns of high initial velocity, on the contrary, one can hear two detonations, and this fact entails several curious consequences. [By an ingenious device the Mach wave has been photographed.]

All that we have just said only applies to projectiles of high initial velocities in the first part of their flight, when their mean velocity is greater than that of sound in air; but this mean velocity diminishes as the flight continues, since the projectile gradually slows down; a moment comes when, in case of very long ranges, it has a velocity less than that of sound in air. From this point the sound waves of the detonation of departure are gaining little by little on the shock wave, and a point of the trajectory is reached when they overtake it; at distances beyond this, however great the initial velocity may have been, the shell is once

more preceded at the point of arrival by the sound of the gunshot and its own warning hiss.

Very different sounds are produced, which only long experience and good judgment can properly interpret.

[M. Nordmann points out that those meteors which are called bolides produce Mach waves, because they enter the upper layers of the atmosphere with velocities very much greater than that of sound in air. The "snap" rushes forward with them, like the furrow made by the advancing ship; and, as this shock wave may simultaneously reach observers scattered over a considerable space (just as the ship's furrow may simultaneously reach boats far from each other) at the exact time when they see the bolide explode, they interpret the "snap" as the noise of that explosion, and each is ready to declare that the bolide exploded directly over his head. The real noise of the explosion may come several seconds later and may be overlooked altogether.]

Removing Projectiles From the Brain by Electromagnet

Dr. Louis Rocher, Professor in the University of Bordeaux, has contributed a noteworthy article on this subject to the Bulletin de l'Académie de Médecine, Paris, from which the subjoined extracts have been translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

THE surgery of this war shows us the frequency of wounds in the skull and of projectiles within the brain. It reveals to us the difficulty of removing these, not only because their location is more or less deep, but because in instrumental exploration there is danger of further injury to the brain tissue already much bruised by the projectile. Besides, there are the difficulties of capturing a foreign body which flees before the forceps. On the other hand, rare indeed are the metallic foreign bodies which eliminate themselves spontaneously, unless they are quite superficial.

The presence in the brain of war projectiles presents a situation of gravity either immediate or mediate; in the first place there are the infectious complica-

tions. Still, the wound of the brain may heal, the projectile remain encysted, and operation be indicated only at a later date by brain disorders varying according to the location of the projectile, (epilepsy, paralysis, abscess.) Hence, it seems to the surgeon more and more that he ought to remove at the beginning every foreign body within the brain, (projectile or bony splinters.) It may be that some such bodies have been left at the start, either because it seemed as if their presence might be tolerated, or because their extraction was impossible. Still, there arise in actual practice a certain number of cases in which it is necessary to interfere at a later date and to extract the projectile.

Up to the present time it has been

conceded as a general rule that one should not remove balls lodged in the brain, (uncertainty and danger of operative procedures, risk of false routes, and of augmenting the injuries to the brain.) To us it now seems that with the method of extraction by the electromagnet, the technic is simplified to the point of presenting the maximum of safety, being, as it is, more sure and less destructive than the methods hitherto employed.

Consequently, it seems as if the extraction of balls from within the brain were restricted only by the progress of operative technic.

Knowing the service rendered to ophthalmologists by the large electromagnet as a means of removing metallic bodies from the eye, we conceived the idea of adopting this method for removing foreign bodies from the brain, after having located them by means of the X-ray. In fact, a splinter of shell the size of a twenty-centime piece and two millimeters thick was so removed in June, 1915, from the front of a soldier's brain, and that without anaesthesia, and with recovery.

Because of the success of this operation further experiments were made, and the reports were presented to the army medical men in February, 1916. The technic used in manipulating the electromagnet was similar to that adopted by ophthalmologists. In fact, the one we actually used belonged to a Paris oculist.

Experiments were made on human brains obtained at autopsies, and in these brains were buried at different depths various metallic splinters, (shell, torpedoes, grenades, and also the German ball.) In these cases we knew the location of the projectile in advance of attempting the extraction. In the living, of course, before undertaking extraction with the electromagnet an accurate X-ray examination is made.

The cases are of two classes—either recent wounds of the skull with penetration by the projectile, or late extraction of the projectile. A small body superficially located is readily removed. A larger body which has penetrated deeply requires more method. Prudent explora-

tion and X-ray examination are needed in order to determine the route and location of the projectile, and to avoid fresh injury to the brain by directing erroneously the lines in which the electromagnet exerts attraction. When the circuit is closed the brain rises over the spot where the foreign body is located. Hence, when it is a question of primary search for a foreign body in a recent wound, the rising of the brain localizes it with relation to the orifice where it entered. The electromagnet should be so placed by the surgeon as to withdraw the body along the route by which it penetrated the brain. At every closing of the circuit will be seen an undulation produced on the brain along the path of the projectile, and becoming more and more evident as it approaches the magnet before brusquely leaving the orifice and sticking to the pole of the magnet.

In a case of late extraction of a foreign body it may be found encysted aseptically (if one may say that) in the brain, or situated inside of an abscess. In the latter case after X-ray examination and the opening of the skull, incision may be made at the point of the typical rising of the surface which occurs when the circuit is closed, and the body extracted through the incision. In the case of a ball or a splinter of shell encysted in the brain, the surgeon will need to calculate the best route of access to the projectile without preoccupying himself with the original orifice of entrance or the path followed. He will need to seek the best path to make it traverse in order to reduce to a minimum the traumatism of the nervous centres. Experimentally a ball was drawn by the magnet from the internal surface of the frontal lobe to its external surface. The projectile itself under the influence of the powerful magnet makes its own path just large enough for it to pass through. The bistoury makes a larger wound, and available information as to location of the foreign body is not always accurate. In extracting balls, regard must also be had to giving the ball the least deadly direction in leaving the brain; that is, it should come out point first and not base first. A

chance presentation of the magnet may result in a pirouetting of the ball ending in a presentation by its base.

This experimentation was done at the Hôpital Notre Dame, Epernay. It is to be desired that patients with skull

wounds operated on at the front in the ambulances, but without removal of the projectile, should be sent to centres possessing an electromagnet, by means of which the brain could be quickly relieved of the foreign body.

Night Blindness Among the Soldiers

DR. L. WEEKERS IN BULLETIN DE L'ACADEMIE DE MEDICINE, PARIS

Dr. Weekers is a professor in the University of Liège and assistant physician in the Belgian Army. The most interesting portions of his article are here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

THE present war, fertile in novelties of all sorts, has witnessed an affection of the eyes, which, as far as I know, has never been mentioned in previous wars; I mean the night blindness of which some soldiers complain. Although in the daytime their vision is good, toward evening, and especially at night, they are blind to the point of being completely bewildered; they never succeed in changing their location except with the greatest difficulties; they fall into the trenches, into the shell holes frequently filled with water, and would be quite incapable of finding their way again if they were not aided by their companions. Some of them have at times been compelled to wait a very long while in the same place, until their comrades came to find them, not daring to risk themselves alone for fear of an accident or for fear of drowning.

These men, even if very courageous, dread to be on sentinel duty because of the responsibility which they incur as regards their officers and companions in arms, if they are incapable of warning at the approach of danger. I know of errors which have been caused by men smitten with night blindness (hemeralopia) who strayed and were lost in the course of a patrol. The soldiers stricken with night blindness give the utmost detail concerning the troubles which they feel, and so demonstrate their good faith. One of them described to me how in the night marches he always sought to place himself behind one of his companions who carried a shining bowl on his knap-

sack; for him it was the only guiding point which permitted him to follow the column, and without it he would have been completely disabled. The drivers of vehicles are at night quite incapable of directing their horses, and are obliged to abandon themselves to their teams.

This symptom is frequent. Out of 3,977 patients whose eyes were examined at the front 409, or 10 per cent., presented very marked symptoms of hemeralopia.

These men have no other functional trouble than an insufficiency of retinal adaptation. The objective examination reveals no lesion of the deep ocular membranes. They often have an anomaly of refraction, (in 73 per cent. of the cases.) Most frequently the general condition is satisfactory, but sometimes one notes signs of nervous depression.

The explanation of the cause of these cases of night blindness found among the soldiers is particularly complicated, inasmuch as but little is known regarding the normal physiology of retinal adaptation. There is one distinction to be made. Some soldiers are affected with a congenital hemeralopia whose manifestations may be accentuated by the life in the trenches. It is probable that those afflicted with this congenital form are themselves quite unconscious of the fact, and hence are tempted to attribute their troubles exclusively to their new life. Independently of congenital hemeralopia, there is an acquired form which individuals previously exempt develop. It seems that it may be

the resultant, not of a single cause but of the co-working of a whole series of factors.

The principal cause of night blindness is nervous exhaustion, the overtaking which is explained only too well by the fatigues and dangers of war, by the monotony and unphysiological character of the life in the trenches, by the irregular sleep, by the rude shocks to which the nervous system is subjected, and perhaps, above all, by the homesickness and anxieties concerning the family left behind in the country occupied by the enemy.

Similar troubles are found among colliers, whose distressing conditions of life at the bottom of the mine have many analogies to those of soldiers in the trenches. In the course of the piercing of the St. Gothard, among the workmen overtaken by that titanic task numerous cases of night blindness were noted. Here again, as among soldiers and colliers, this symptom betrays an exhaustion of the nervous system. To my mind there exists a clinical form of night blindness which should be called the hemeralopia of exhaustion.

Work in the dark, contrary to what one might think, does not produce night blindness; the darkness gives the evidence of the insufficiency of the retinal adaptation, but is not the cause of it. The ocular fatigue resulting from an error of refraction, or from an inflamma-

tion of the external ocular membranes, acts as an auxiliary factor by increasing the fatigue.

A clinical form of night blindness which is well known is that found in endemic form in certain groups by reason of insufficient or defective nutrition, for example, in penitentiaries, in orphan asylums, on ships. In Russia, during the seven weeks of fasting which precede the feasts of Easter, cases of night blindness occur in great number. But I think that this causal factor intervenes but little in the development of night blindness among soldiers. Their nutrition is the object of very special care, it is abundant and healthful. The only grievance against the regimen of our soldiers is one made inevitable by circumstances, and that is, that it is too uniform, and that canned goods form too large a part of it.

The present-day treatment of night blindness includes the wearing of smoked glasses during prolonged exposure to bright light, the correction of errors of refraction, (using round frames and lenses at the front,) strengthening and varied food, rest in the hospital for exceptional cases. The number of catastrophes on the field from this cause is to be lessened by eliminating the congenital cases of night blindness by tests at the recruiting stations. Men who are so affected need not be excluded from military service, but can be assigned to duty not requiring night work.

Endless Chain of Motor Cars That Saved Verdun

France may truly be said to have won the battle of Verdun by means of automobiles. Certainly the battle would have been lost without them. The road from Bar-le-Duc to Verdun, over which the machines traveled, is still called *La Voie Sacrée* (The Sacred Way) by French writers. The historical facts are thus summarized by Henry Wood, a special correspondent with the French armies.

IT is not improbable that some future poet will sing the song of "The Four Thousand Automobiles of Verdun." When the Germans began their big drive last February the nearest railhead from which the French could bring up their munitions and supplies was at Bar-le-Duc, some thirty miles away and connected with Verdun by a single roadway

capable of sustaining heavy motor truck traffic. It was over this one roadway that France immediately established its endless chain of 4,000 automobiles. They maintained a uniform distance from each other of twenty yards and moved at a uniform rate of one yard a second. There was only one order to be observed, and that was that never for a single second

of the night or day must anything stop or slacken this endless, ever-rolling chain. If a chauffeur discovered something going wrong with his machine, his duty was to run the automobile into the ditch before he should be obliged to stop in the roadway and clog the chain.

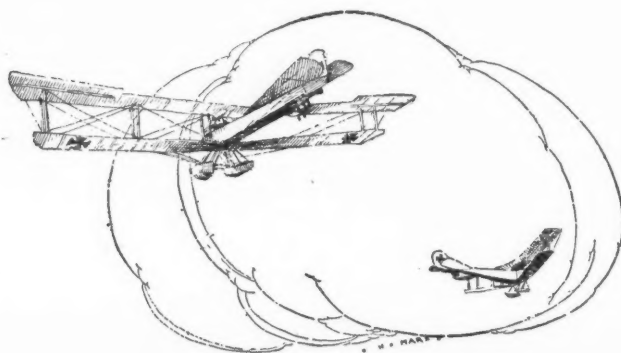
At all hours there passed up and down the side of the roadway gangs of repair men. They hastily examined each machine as it had been run into the ditch. If it was found it could be quickly repaired it was repaired and thrust back into line. If it was found the accident was serious the auto was ruthlessly cast aside, the repair gang merely carrying away the more essential parts for use in making other repairs. The cost of a single auto at that time was not worth the loss of a second to France.

No road in the world could have sustained this chain of heavy traffic without constant repairs, and here again French genius solved the problem. A stone was found for macadamizing the road sufficiently soft to be crushed under the wheels of the autos themselves without the need of the roller. This stone was distributed along both sides of the roadway for the entire thirty miles, as were also gangs of road repairers. The instant a worn place appeared, a workman rushed in between two automobiles and deposited a shovel full of the soft stone on the spot. He leaped back in time to permit the approaching auto to pass over it, crushing it into the roadbed, and as this auto cleared it a second man leaped in between it and the next machine with another shovel full of stone, this con-

tinuing till the weakened spot was again perfectly macadamized.

For fully three months, until railways could be built, France kept up this endless chain of 4,000 autos, 2,000 moving up one side of the roadway from Bar-le-Duc as the other 2,000 moved on in the opposite side from Verdun. The 4,000 automobiles included also the ambulance autos that brought back the wounded. Many of these were urgent cases, and yet these ambulances could only move at the established rate of one yard per second.

Hundreds of lives would have been lost had it not been for the field sections of the American ambulance stationed at Verdun. Equipped with small, light, speedy cars capable of going almost anywhere and everywhere that the heavy French auto-ambulances could not go, the "rush" surgical cases were given to these American drivers. They were not given a place in the endless chain, but were allowed to dart into the intervening space of sixty feet maintained between the cars, and then make their way forward as best they could. When an open field offered, they left the road entirely, and, driving across, would come back into line when they could go no further, and await another chance for getting ahead. They were able to bring the wounded down from Verdun often twice as fast as those who came in the regular ambulances, and always without ever committing the one great error on which the life of France depended—the tying up for a single instant of the endless chain of the 4,000 automobiles of Verdun.



THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

NOTE.—Owing to the seizure of all German periodicals by the British blockade patrols, CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE has been unable to obtain for this issue an equal representation of the latest German cartoons.

[Australian Cartoon]

St. George and the Dragon



—Flanagan in Sydney Bulletin.

Liberty fighting the worst of the dragon brood—Militarism.

[Russian Cartoon]

The Busy American



—From the *Novi Satirikon*, Petrograd.

The clink of the shoveled coin deafens him to the cries of those who are perishing at sea.

[English Cartoon]

U-Boat 53 at Nantucket



—Raemaekers in *Land and Water*, London.

PRESIDENT WILSON: "We can save, but cannot we prevent?"

[French Cartoons]

American Taste



—From *La Victoire*, Paris.

"How clever they are with the torpedo!"



—From *La Victoire*, Paris.

The last German submarine.

[Austrian Cartoon]

The Allied "Offensive" in Rumania



"Don't worry; it will soon hatch out."



—From *Die Muskete*, Vienna.

"Rotten, by Gosh!"

[Italian Cartoon]

Uncle Sam's Interrupted Nap



—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

German submarines give America a taste of what Europe suffers daily.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Hindenburg's Strategy



—From *De Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.

"He strode to a large map of Poland, and, laying a hand as large as a breakfast tray over the centre, said, 'It is here that European and colonial affairs will be settled.'"

[French Cartoon]

Lest Ye Forget!



—© Le Rire, Paris.

VOICE OF FRANCE'S DEAD: "Cursed be the hand that shall clasp the hand of our assassins!"

[German Cartoon]

The Butterfly Hunter



—© Der Brummer, Berlin.

John Bull after the neutrals. He won't get a single one of them.

[Australian Cartoon]

The Lovers



—Norman Lindsay in *Sydney Bulletin*.

“The conquered loves the conqueror.”—Max Harden.

[French Cartoon]

Christmas in the War Zone



—From *La Baionnette*, Paris.

“What did I tell you! I SAID he'd find our chimney.”

[Russian Cartoon]

The Mailed Fist at Home

Many women and children have been wounded in the food riots at Berlin. — *Newspaper report.*

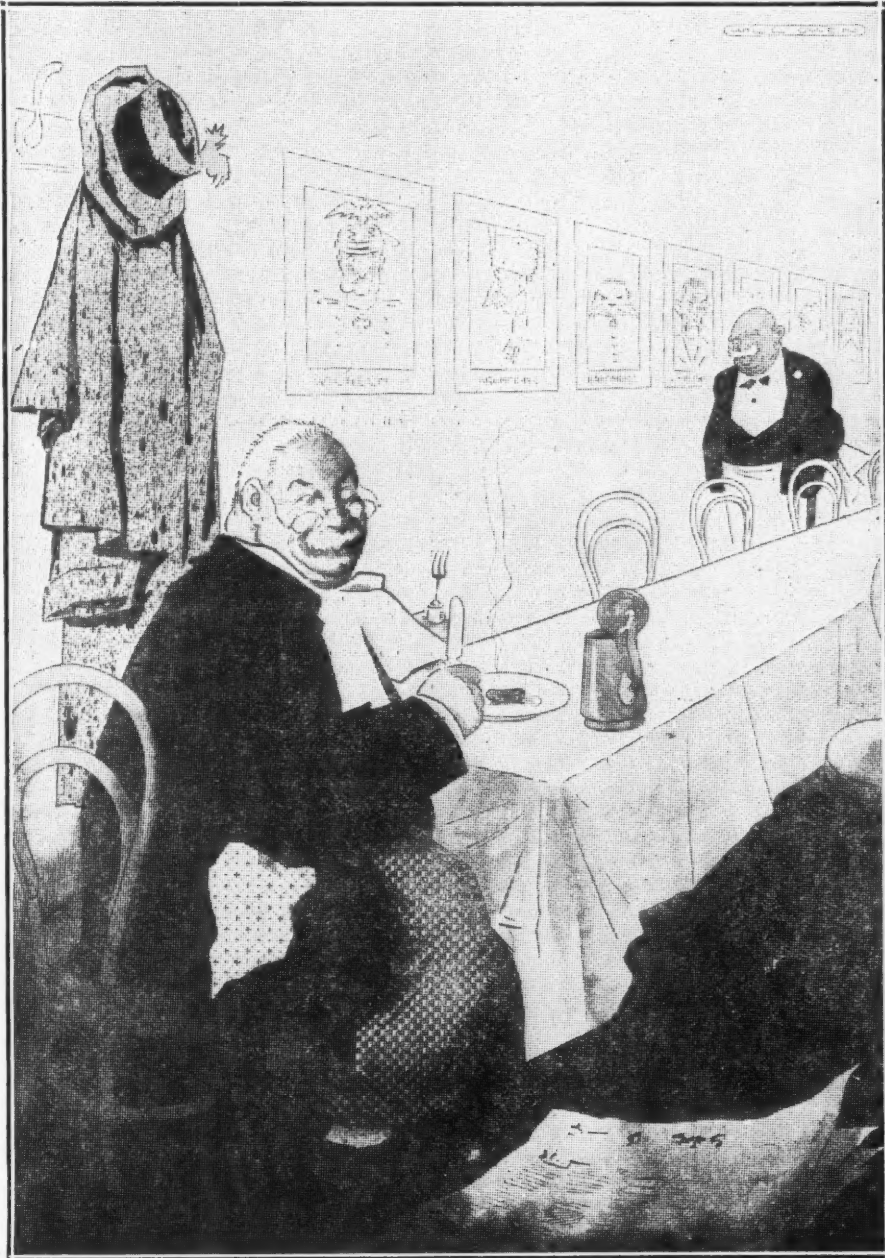


—From *Boudilnik*, Petrograd.

WILHELM: "In spite of this terrible war we will have neither widows nor orphans."

[English Cartoon]

Oh, Where Has My Little Dog Gone?



—Will Owen in *The Sketch*, London.

"I for the best hoped have—but now I for the wurst ready am."

[French Cartoon]

Recapture of Fort Douaumont

"The French attack, favored by fog"—*German war bulletin, Oct. 26.*



—*Forain in Le Figaro, Paris.*

—and the fog was suddenly dissipated.

[French Cartoon]

Polish Freedom—German Style



—*Forain in Le Figaro, Paris.*

"We hereby re-establish the ancient Kingdom of Poland."

[English Cartoon]

A German Bargain



—Will Dyson in *London Chronicle*.

READER OF PROCLAMATION TO THE POLES: "In short, we are giving you a pure Prussian Prince, and taking in return a mere million or two of Polish peasants!"

[Spanish Cartoon]

The Happy Neutral



—Campana de Gracia, Barcelona; adapted by Cartoons Magazine.

I twang my strings for all they're worth
Upon this peaceful lump of earth;
The sounds of war evoke no fears
For I have stopped up both my ears.

The Spanish ships sunk by German submarines are seen in the background.

[Italian Cartoon]

The Greek Situation



—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

King Constantine as the Kaiser's puppet.

[Rumanian Cartoon]
Transylvania



—From a Rumanian Postcard.
Crucified by the two-headed Austrian eagle.

[French Cartoon]
The Crown Prince Prefers Not
to Return to Verdun



"Say, Papa, can't you send me now
against the Japanese?"

[Australian Cartoon]
The Red Plowman



—Norman Lindsay in *Sydney Bulletin*.
How much longer will he torture
Europe?

[Polish Cartoon]
The Tempter



—From *Mucha*, Moscow.

KAISER (to Poland): "I will give
you all that lies before you."

POLAND: "But what of that which
lies beyond?"

KAISER: "Oh, that is mine. You
can't expect any of that."

[Australian Cartoon]

The Poem That Defeated Conscription

THE BLOOD VOTE

"Why is your face so white, Mother?

Why do you choke for breath?"

"O I have dreamt in the night, my son
That I doomed a man to death."

"Why do you hide your hand, Mother?

And crouch above it in dread?"

"It beareth a dreadful brand, my son:
With the dead man's blood 'tis red."

"I hear his widow cry in the night.

I hear his children weep,

And always within my sight.

O God!

The dead man's blood
doth leap.

"They put the dagger into my
grasp.

It seemed but a pencil then;

I did not know it was a fiend *ago*.

For the priceless blood of men.

"They gave me the ballot paper;

The grim death-warrant of doom.

And I smugly sentenced the man to death

In that dreadful little room:

"I put it inside the Box of Blood.

Nor thought of the man I'd slain.

Till at midnight came like a *whelming*
flood

God's word - and the Brand of Cain.

"O little son! O my little son!

Pray God for your Mother's soul.

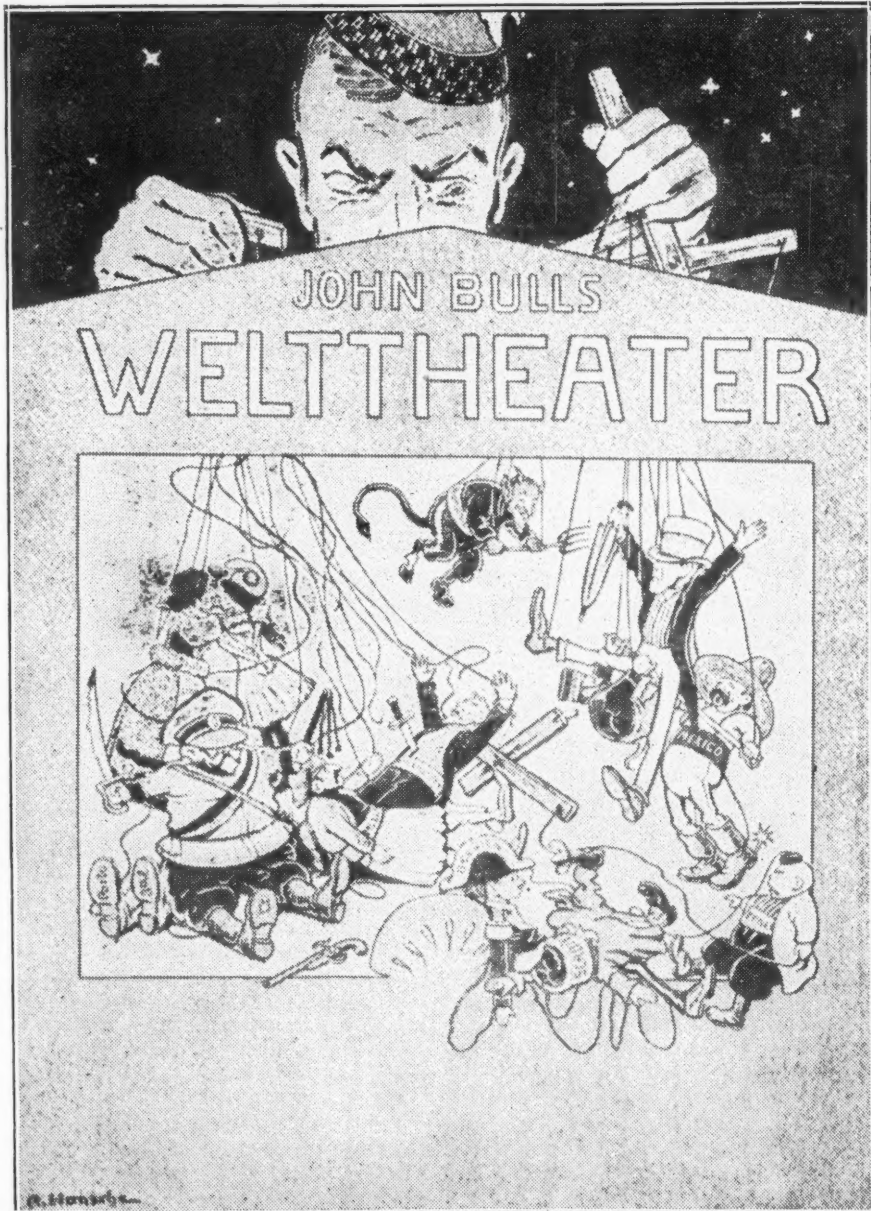
That the scarlet stain may be white again
In God's great Judgment Roll."

Written by W R Winespear, and drawn by Claude Warquet, St Andrew's Place, Sydney.

[This cartoon, in the form of large posters, is said to have turned the Australian women's vote, defeating compulsory military service in the recent referendum.]

[German Cartoon]

Pulling the Puppet Strings



—© Der Brummer, Berlin.

OLD PUPPET SHOWMAN JOHN BULL: "Confound it! One string after another gets tangled up."

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events
From November 13, Up to and Including
December 11, 1916

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

- Nov. 13—Heavy artillery fighting in Galicia, in the Narayuvka region.
Nov. 15—Russians recapture Narayuvka positions east of Lipnicadolna.
Nov. 24—Russians repulse attacks on the Kovel-Marovich Railway in Volhynia.
Nov. 29—Russians repulse gas attacks on the River Shara.
Dec. 9—Russian troops retire to their own intrenchments after battle near Javornika.
Dec. 11—Austro-German troops take the offensive in the region of Pomorzany in Galicia.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

- Nov. 13—Russians cross the Danube into Dobrudja at two points south of Cernavoda, in the rear of Mackensen's army; Teutons on Transylvanian front push back the Rumanians in the region of the Oituz Valley and northeast of Campulung; Serbs on the Macedonian front advance beyond Polog and capture the Village of Iven.
Nov. 14—Teutons capture the village of Bum-beshiti in the Juil Valley and force the Rumanians back in the Alt Valley; Russians retire from the Gyergy Mountains in Northern Transylvania; Serbs reach the edge of the Monastir plain, flanking frontier defenses to the south.
Nov. 15—Rumanians are forced back further in the Alt and Juil Valleys, but pursue the Teutons from the border of Western Moldavia to the Slanic and Oituz Valleys.
Nov. 16—Mackensen forced back in Dobrudja; army burns villages as it retreats; Bulgar-German army flanked out of whole line of frontier defenses centred on Kenali; French occupy Kenali and several other villages on the Monastir plain and Cerna Heights; British resume offensive on the Struma front and capture Karakaska, east of Lake Tahinos.
Nov. 17—Teutons take Tirgujiulij in the Juil Valley and the Village of Liresht in the Campulung region; British on the Struma take Kerakli.
Nov. 18—Rumanians force Teutons to retreat in the Campulung region; French reach Kanena, five miles south of Monastir; British take Prosenik and Kumli on the Struma.
Nov. 19—Teutons reach the Wallachian Plain and cut the Orsova-Craiova railroad; Rumanians recapture series of heights in the Tirgujiulij region; allied troops take Monastir.
Nov. 21—Teuton forces occupy Craiova; Serbs take many villages east and northeast of Monastir.
Nov. 22—Bulgar-German retreat from Monastir halted on a line running from Snegovo to Hill 1,050, southwest of Makovo.
Nov. 23—Russian reinforcements arrive on the Transylvanian front; Rumanians destroy bridge over the Danube near Corabia; French and Italians advance north of Monastir to the west; Serbs capture another village to the east.
Nov. 24—Teutons capture Turnu-Severin and Orsova; Serbs capture Rapesh and Budimirtse northeast of Monastir; Italians reach Nijpole.
Nov. 25—Germans from Mackensen's front cross the Danube, landing at Islacz at the mouth of the Alt and at Zimmnitza; Falkenhayn's forces push down the Alt Valley from Red Tower Pass, cross the Alt River, and drive Rumanians back toward the south.
Nov. 26—Falkenhayn's army gains the railway at Craiova; Mackensen's army advances before Alexandria.
Nov. 27—Teutons capture Alexandria; Rumanians abandon entire Alt River line and withdraw beyond the Topolog River; Orsova forces trapped; French and Serbs in Macedonia capture Hill 1,050, east of Parlavo.
Nov. 28—Falkenhayn captures Curtea de Arges; Mackensen occupies Giurgiu; Rumanians destroy the railroad to Bucharest as they retreat from the Danube; Cabinet moves from Bucharest to Jassy.
Nov. 29—Falkenhayn captures Pitechti; Serbs capture the height northwest of Grunishte; Italians push forward in the region of Tsrvena Stena height.
Nov. 30—Falkenhayn's forces take Campulung; Mackensen's army occupies Tzomanas; Russian drive gains in the north, reaching the outskirts of Kirlibaba; Serbs driven back from the west slope of Ruin Mountain.
Dec. 1—Russians launch great offensive all along the Bukowina and Moldavia frontier and in Dobrudja, capturing ranges south of Kirlibaba and in the Buzeu Valley southeast of Kronstadt.
Dec. 2—Russians gain grip on Kirlibaba; Rumanians make further retirement west of Bucharest; Serbs resume their advance in the region of Monastir.
Dec. 4—All Teutonic armies in Rumania reported incorporated under command of General Mackensen; bombardment of

- Bucharest begins; Russians break into Transylvania northeast of Kronstadt; Serbs drive Germans and Bulgars from fortified Bulgar positions north of Grunishite.
- Dec. 6—Bucharest and Ploechti captured by the Teutons.
- Dec. 7—Teutons occupy Campino; Bulgars retake Serb positions north of Sokol.
- Dec. 8—Rumanian troops retreating from the Predeal and Altschanz Passes cut off by Teutonic forces and most of them captured.
- Dec. 10—Rumanians assume the offensive along the Buzeu-Ploechti road and drive the Teutons back behind the Grikovul River; Bulgarians cross the Danube between Cernavoda and Silistria.
- Dec. 11—Teutons driven back for several miles east of Ploechti; French advance near Flaklar, north of Monastir.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

- Nov. 13—British break German line on five-mile front north and south of the Ancre River and capture the towns of Beaumont-Hamel and St. Pierre Divion.
- Nov. 14—British advance further up the valley of the Ancre, capturing the Village of Beaucourt.
- Nov. 15—Germans assault French lines from the region of Les Boeufs to Bouchavesnes and make slight advances.
- Nov. 16—French expel the Germans from Pressoire and win back contested portion of Saillisel.
- Nov. 17—British advance east of Beaucourt, but are forced back east of Warlencourt.
- Nov. 18—British on the Ancre reach the outskirts of Grandcourt.
- Nov. 20—Germans win back part of Grandcourt.
- Nov. 25—Somme fighting halted by bad weather; artillery forces around Fort Vaux show renewed activity.
- Nov. 26—French attack upon St. Mihiel salient repulsed; German attacks in the Champagne district east of Maisons-Champagne and Auberive repulsed.
- Nov. 28—British positions on both sides of the Ancre heavily shelled; fighting renewed near Souchez.
- Nov. 30—Germans repulse British attack on two-mile front near Ypres.
- Dec. 4—British repulsed in attempts to enter German trenches at Ypres.
- Dec. 6—Germans launch attack on the slopes east of Hill 304, northwest of Verdun.
- Dec. 7—Germans capture summit of Hill 304.
- Dec. 9-11—Violent artillery duels on the Ancre.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

- Nov. 15—Italians evacuate some trenches on the San Marco, east of Gorizia.
- Nov. 17—Italians repel night attacks against salient on the San Marco.
- Nov. 18—Italians advance on the Carso and near Vertobizza.

- Nov. 28—Austrians shell Italian front in the Trentino and near Gorizia.
- Dec. 2—Austrians repulsed at Monte Granuda in the Fella Valley.
- Dec. 6—Austrian attacks in the Upper Astico Valley repulsed.
- Dec. 11—Italians repel attacks in the Boscomalo-Ludilog sector on the Carso.

ASIA MINOR

- Nov. 13—Russians repel Turks near Gumushkhaneh height and Kighi.
- Nov. 24—Turks evacuate Sharafkhan in Armenia.

GERMAN EAST AFRICA

- Nov. 19—Portuguese occupy Linda and reach Moama.
- Dec. 11—British line has advanced from New Iringa and Kissaki to the coast.

AERIAL RECORD

- British naval airplanes raided Ostend and Zeebrugge.
- On Nov. 17 a French aviator flew from the French lines to Munich and dropped bombs on the city. He crossed the Alps on his return trip and alighted near Venice, having covered a distance of 435 miles.
- Zeppelins raided blast furnaces and industrial establishments in the northeastern counties of England Nov. 27. Two machines were brought down.
- The Russians brought down a Zeppelin near Sarny and captured the crew.
- Austrian aviators raided Weadova, Ravenna, Ponte Lagoscuro, and Aquila, and set fire to Padua. Italians shelled Prosecco and the pier at Trieste.
- Teuton aviators made several raids on Bucharest and on neighboring villages, and on Nov. 15 dropped bombs on the royal palace.
- The British raided Maghdaba and Birshaba in Egypt, bringing down two Fokkers.

NAVAL RECORD

- German submarines have renewed their campaign in the war zone with unusual vigor. Within a month ninety-six vessels, beligerent and neutral, have been sunk.
- Two British hospital ships, the Britannic and the Braemar Castle, were sunk by mines in the Aegean Sea.
- Russian submarines sank three Turkish ships in the Black Sea, near the Bosphorus.
- The American steamship Chemung was torpedoed and sunk near the coast of Spain by an Austrian submarine.
- Six German destroyers raided the British coast Nov. 25, bombarded Ramsgate, and sank a patrol ship. In a second raid, near Lowestoft, Nov. 28, another patrol ship was sunk and the crew captured.
- The French gunboat Surprise was sunk by German submarines at Funchal, Madeira, the troop ship Karnak has been sunk, and the battleship Suffren has been given up as lost.